

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE



TRANSLATED WITH DEEPSEEK R1

ANTI-UNIONIST WORKS

MARK EUGENIKOS

ANTI-UNIONIST WORKS

ANTI-UNIONIST WORKS OF MARK EUGENIKOS

FROM THE LATIN OF PATROLOGIA ORIENTALIS 15 & 17
+ APPENDIX ON ENERGY—ESSENCE DISTINCTION

TRANSLATED & EDITED BY:
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ENGLISH TRANSLATION FROM THE LATIN
COMPLETED USING DEEPSEEK R1

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BISHOP MONSIGNOR LOUIS PETIT

FOR THE UNION OF EAST & WEST

TO BENEDICT XV, SUPREME PONTIFF, WHO, RELYING ON THE PROMISES BY WHICH CHRIST ASSURED PETER, PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES, OF PERPETUAL VICTORY OVER THE GATES OF HELL, AMID SUCH GREAT CRAFTINESS OF MINDS AND SUCH GREAT TURMOIL OF AFFAIRS, HAS GOVERNED THE ENTIRE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH WITH JUST RULE, SHOWING KINDNESS TO ALL, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY INCLINED TOWARD THE AFFLICTED, SEEKING THE WELFARE OF THE FALLEN EAST. TO DEAL WITH EASTERN AFFAIRS, HE ESTABLISHED A NEW COLLEGE OF CARDINALS, AND TO ADVANCE THE STUDIES AND ARTS OF THE EAST IN THE CITY, HE FOUNDED A NEW SCHOOL, WITH A BUILDING PROVIDED AND SELECT MEN APPOINTED FROM EVERYWHERE, TO BE ORGANIZED AND ADMINISTERED.

TO THESE WE DEDICATE THE MONUMENTS, ACCURATELY COLLECTED, OF THE MOST HOLY COUNCIL OF FLORENCE, IN WHICH BOTH GREEKS AND LATINS, AS THERE IS ONE GOD IN THE WORLD, AS THERE IS ONE SUN IN THE HEAVENS, THUS PRONOUNCED THAT THERE IS ONE CHURCH ON EARTH UNDER THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

TO THE MOST HOLY AND SUPREME PONTIFF, TO THE BEST FATHER, A TESTIMONY OF FAITH, CONSTANCY, OBEDIENCE, AND PIETY.

AD LECTOREM

This volume presents an English translation of the anti-unionist works of Mark Eugenikos of Ephesus (1392–1444), that most obstinate opponent of sacred union at the Council of Florence, whose theological acuity and unyielding resistance have earned him veneration among the Eastern Orthodox, though not among the faithful of Rome. These works appear here translated from the critical Latin edition prepared by His Excellency Monsignor Louis Petit, Latin Archbishop of Athens, whose erudition illuminates even those texts which oppose the very unity he himself so ardently seeks.

It is meet to observe that this work, like so many treasures of Eastern Christian thought, owes its preservation and accessibility to the labors of Latin scholarship. The Greeks themselves did not undertake the critical edition of these texts for the wider scholarly world. Rather, it was His Excellency Monsignor Petit—a most learned prelate of Holy Mother Church—who devoted his considerable learning to their meticulous preparation, rendering them accessible through the universal tongue of Latin scholarship. Thus do we behold the sublime paradox: that those who labor most fervently for Christian unity and the advancement of divine truth are often those who preserve and illuminate even the works penned in opposition to that most sacred union.

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The present English translation was completed in the waning months of Anno Domini 2024, utilizing DeepSeek R1, an artificial intelligence of considerable yet decidedly inferior capability compared to more recent developments in the art of machine translation. While this model demonstrates competence in rendering Latin into English and remains capable of producing generally accurate translations, readers must exercise heightened vigilance. The limitations inherent in the instrument employed necessitate particular caution concerning theological terminology, patristic citations, scriptural references, and those subtle distinctions upon which dogmatic disputations so perpetually turn.

Any deficiencies, inaccuracies, or obscurities that mar this rendering are solely attributable to the frailty of the translation process and to my own inadequacy as editor—the imperfect instrument of one who labors in full awareness of his limitations. Such errors must never be imputed to His Excellency Monsignor Louis Petit, whose Latin edition remains unblemished in its philological excellence, nor to Mark of Ephesus, whose Greek texts, though contrary to Catholic unity, merit our respect for their theological gravity.

This translation is based upon the volumes published in Paris by Firmin-Didot & Co. in the years 1923 and 1927. For all purposes of serious scholarship—citation, theological analysis, verification of arguments—Monsignor Petit's Latin edition in the *Patrologia Orientalis* remains the sole authoritative text, and all citations must refer to that original as the definitive source.

Thus this English rendering serves as a humble aid for those not learned in the Latin language. It cannot and does not replace the original work of His Excellency's erudition.

In servitium scientiae et unitatis Christianae

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE FIRST SIX DOCUMENTS ON PURGATORY AT THE REUNION COUNCIL OF FLORENCE

According to Pindar, every work should begin with a brilliant frontispiece: Ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου, πρόσωπον χρή θέμεν τηλαυγές (When beginning a work, one should place a shining frontispiece). It would therefore be appropriate here to present, in a few carefully crafted pages, the origins of the religious conflict that has divided the East and West for so many centuries, to recall its main phases, and conclude with a formal dissertation on the Council of Florence, which was meant to close this great debate. However, this is not my intention. The Council of Florence, it is true, still awaits its historian; nevertheless, it is not through skillfully arranged pictures, but rather through the often thankless task of examining documents, that a historian proceeds today, and the assembly of 1439 still presents, in its records, too many gaps for one to even think of reproducing its physiognomy with complete fidelity. And when I speak of records, it is in a metaphorical sense. Alas, these precious documents no longer exist, or at least have not yet been found, by one of those misfortunes that would be difficult to find many examples for in such recent events.

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Thus, I hope that the documents gathered here for the first time will be received favorably. They are of vital importance for the debates that took place at Ferrara, and yet they had until now been left in the shadows. Le Quien, who missed very little, examined them closely and gave a succinct but faithful analysis of them in his fifth *Dissertatio Damasceniana*. And it is through Le Quien, not through direct knowledge of the texts, that historians of dogma have made reference to them. There is something better to do, I think, than to endlessly reproduce the same assertions, especially when dealing with documents that, far from being lost, have in fact been preserved for us in a large number of manuscripts. Allow me to place them first in their historical context. After many difficult negotiations, the bishops dissenting from Basel and Pope Eugene IV had, so to speak, competed in speed and seductive offers. The Greeks, led by Emperor John Palaiologos and Patriarch Joseph, arrived in Venice on February 8, 1438. By this date, the general council had already been open since January 8 at Ferrara, much to the disappointment of the Fathers of Basel, which led one of them, Enea Silvio, the future Pope Pius II, to write with sweet irony, *Risit Oriens Latinorum insaniam, qui sibi ipsi dissentientes, aforam unionem perquirerent*. On the name of Eugene IV, first through the great Cardinal Nicolas Albergati, and then through the no less famous Julian Caesarini, the Eastern prelates hesitated for some time about which side to take. Where was it better to go? To Ferrara or to Basel? The Doge advised them to wait in Venice for the arrival of the ambassadors from Basel and the representatives of the princes.

In the end, the papal legates won the day; after twenty days of active negotiations, the emperor, followed by a pompous retinue, headed for Ferrara, where he made his solemn entry on March 1, welcomed with munificence by Eugene IV. Four days later, on March 8, the patriarch arrived in turn, escorted to the Pope by four cardinals,

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twenty-five bishops, and the governor of the city. The protocol for both receptions led to quite lively debates, which were renewed with no less intensity at the first solemn session of the council, on Holy Tuesday, April 9, in the cathedral of Ferrara, dedicated to San Giorgio. But in the end, an agreement was reached. On April 13, after the Easter celebrations, the Pope invited the Greek bishops to meet privately to examine the various doctrinal questions on which there was disagreement between the two Churches. The Greeks would have preferred, once again, to do nothing until the long-promised, yet always delayed, arrival of the Fathers of Basel. After some hesitation, they set to work. Ten prelates from each party, with their respective secretaries, two per side, were to meet twice a week in the Church of San Francesco to discuss the controversial points. On the Greek side, these were the metropolitans of Ephesus, Nicaea, Monembasia, Laconia, Anchialos, and five others, whose seats are not specified. By order of the emperor, only the first two, namely, Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nicaea, were to speak in public. Leading the Latins were Cardinals Julian Caesarini and Nicolas Albergati, Archbishop of Rhodes Andrew, and the learned Spanish Dominican John of Torquemada. After an exchange of compliments, the delegates addressed, in the third session, the issues to be debated. Julian Caesarini had reduced them to four: the procession of the Holy Spirit, the unleavened bread, purgatory, and the Roman primacy. At the Greeks' request, the first of these questions was postponed until later, when the council, with the arrival of the Fathers of Basel and the representatives of the princes, would present a more imposing aspect. Regarding the other three, they agreed to respond in the shortest time possible after consultation with the emperor. He advised them to choose, to begin with, one of the last two questions. The Latins raised no objection, and thus, with the consent of both parties, the question of purgatory was the first to be deliberated.

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At the fifth meeting, which took place on June 5th, Julian Césarini presented the Catholic doctrine concerning Purgatory. After summarizing it in a short formula, borrowed from the Council of Lyon and which was later to be inserted verbatim in the decree of Florence, the cardinal supported it with a number of texts taken from the second book of the Maccabees, the Gospel of St. Matthew, and especially from the first chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Then came some patristic testimonies, provided from the Eastern side by St. Basil, St. Epiphanius, St. John Damascene, St. Dionysius the Areopagite, Theodoret, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and, from the Western side, by St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory the Great. To these authoritative arguments was added, finally, a proof of reason. This presentation was then written down and given to the Greeks, and their two champions, Mark and Bessarion, each made a separate response, which was later merged into one and given to the Latins on June 14, 1438. It is precisely these responses from the Easterners that are the main subject of the present publication. It is important, therefore, to carefully examine, if not the content, now accessible to all, at least the origin and authenticity.

The personal work of the bishop of Ephesus cannot be doubted. To settle the matter, it is sufficient to refer to the testimony of the numerous manuscripts that have preserved, under the name of Mark, three discourses on Purgatory, delivered in Ferrara in the presence of the cardinals and Latin theologians: and since these discourses, when reproduced in full, always follow a consistent order, this order is obviously dictated by the chronological succession. The intrinsic examination leads to the same conclusions. One need only reread them to realize that they constitute successive replies to the Latin theses. The first piece, more general in nature, precisely begins with the formula presented by Césarini. In the second discourse, one sees the disagreement narrow around certain more troublesome texts,

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finishing, with the third piece, on finer details. Mark of Ephesus' discourses have survived in their entirety, and it is only right to now give them a place in the conciliar collections. Is the same true for the work of Bessarion, or at least for this collective response of the two prelates given to the Latins on June 14, 1438? This question, which seems never to have been discussed, should also be answered affirmatively. But as it seems an effort has been made to complicate the issue, it is necessary to first untangle the matter before presenting a conclusion that is absolutely beyond dispute. Martin Crusius mentions, in his *Turco-Graecia*, a pamphlet which he describes in these terms: *Responsio Graecorum ad positionem Latinorum, opinionem iynis purgatorii fundantium et probantium, quae lerta et data fuit reverendissimis et reverendis Patribus et dominis deputatis die sabbati 13 mensis luni 1438, in sacristia Fratrum Minorum, Basileae, praesentata Nicolao Cusano*. If one removes, or rather corrects, the last words of this title, one is clearly faced with the collective response of Mark and Bessarion. That this document was later delivered to Basel to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa is not impossible; but that it was delivered by the Greek prelates who attended the council there is quite implausible. In June 1438, the Greeks were certainly not in Basel, where they never went, and there is no record, furthermore, that the question of Purgatory was, I won't say debated with the Easterners, but even merely raised at the Council of Basel. No less noteworthy is the fact that it was to delegated prelates, *Patribus et dominis Deputatis*, that the Greeks submitted their response.

Such delegates had, as we have seen, been appointed at Ferrara; they could not have been at Basel, for the simple reason that this point of controversy was never even discussed there. Let us go further. It is on Saturday, June 14th, that the submission took place; now, according to Dorotheus of Mitylene, it was on June 14th that

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Bessarion publicly answered on behalf of the Greeks. Finally, the last coincidence: the place of meeting is indicated as the sacristy of the Friars Minor; and Dorotheus of Mitylene, in disagreement with Syropoulos, who names the church of St. Andrew (which is no longer in use for worship), does correctly indicate that the Commission of the Ten met in the church of St. Francis. The official Greek translation of the Cedula presented by the Latins is equally definitive: in a very brief preamble, it mentions the same location: ἐν τῷδε τοῦ μακαρίου Φραγγίσκου σκευοφυλακίῳ. This church of St. Francis is still served in Ferrara by the Conventual Franciscans, and its reputation was such that it contains the tombs of the family of the Este marquises. Everything aligns, as we see, with our hypothesis, and there is no doubt that the document indicated by Crusius is the Greek response to Julian Césarini's exposition.

Another no less serious question: Did this Responsio Graecorum, so interesting for the history of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, ever see the light of day? Yes again, and there are several editions of it. A collection, with heterogeneous content, such as those commonly published in the 16th century, was released in Basel in 1555 under the title *Orthodoxographa theologiae sacrosanctae ac sincerioris fidei doctores numero LXXVI a Is. Heroldo collecta*. Basel, 1555, folio. Now, among the many disparate works contained in this thick volume, there is one, pages 1376-1390, which exactly corresponds to the description provided by Crusius. It is titled *Apologia Graecorum de purgatorio igne in concilio Basileensi exhibita, nunc quam primum a Joanne Hartungo latinitate donata*. Here again, correct Basileensi to Ferrariensi for the reasons mentioned above, and you have the very document described in Turco-Graecia. The pamphlet is dedicated to Otthenrich, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, and the dedicatory letter from Hartung is dated Heidelberg, the 4th of the Ides of September, or September

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10, 1545. If we are to believe Harles, who is generally well-informed, our *Apologia* was also published in Leipzig in 1556. Hic (libellus) graece et latine cum Alex. Alesii libello contra Lud. Nogarolam de traditionibus, prodiit Lipsiae 1556, 8°, sine nomine auctoris hoc titulo: *Apologia Graecorum de purgatorio igne in concilio Basileensi* (an. 1438) exhibita. Then, before the end of the same century, Vulcanius published it in Leiden in 1595, in an octavo volume. The Latin translation was included. That's not all. This same translation by Vulcanius, but this time accompanied by the Greek text, reappears at the beginning of the 17th century in the celebrated pamphlet by Claude Salmasius against papal primacy: *Ol. Salmasii librorum de Primatu Papae pars prima. Cum apparatu. Accessere de eodem primatu Nili et Barlaami tractatus* (Hanoviae Hanau, 1608). I only have the reprint published in Leiden (Lugduni Batavorum) by the Elzeviers in 1645, and here, our pamphlet occupies pages 65-93 of the *Appendice*. The text is the same as in the *Orthodoxographa*, but for reasons unknown, the title given by the Basel collection is reduced in Saumaise's edition to simply *De Purgatorio igne liber unus*.

And it is under this new, rather vague title that we see it reappear in an anonymous Greek collection published in London, according to contemporaries like Allatius, in Constantinople, according to Legrand, around the year 1627, by the efforts of Nicodeme Metaxas. This collection is so rare that Legrand only knew of two copies, one belonging to the British Museum, the other to the famous library of Prince George Maurocordato, which, after the prince's death, became the property of Mr. Georges Baltazzi. My personal library owns a copy. As with Saumaise, the pamphlet on Purgatory appears immediately after the treatise by Barlaam on the Power of the Pope and occupies pages 31-40. And it is this purely accidental placement that misled literary critics. Some attributed the work to Nil Cabasilas, others to Nicholas Cabasilas, nephew of the

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former, still others to Barlaam, although there is not a single manuscript to support any of these attributions. It was Barlaam who won out, after Peter Areudius claimed it in a strangely composed work, published after the author's death, under the title: *Περὶ τοῦ καθαρτηρίου Πυρός κατὰ Βαρλαάμ, Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀρκούδου*. *De Purgatorio igne adversus Barlaam Petri Arkudii. Romae, Typis et impensis Sac. Cong. de Propag. Fide, 1637, in-4*. The pamphlet on Purgatory is reproduced there in small sections and refuted, depending on the case, in a few lines or in several hundred pages. As seen in the preface and also in the imprimatur from the Master of the Sacred Palace, dated April 1, 1637, Areudius' book was published under the care of the priest Pantaleon Ligarides, one of those wonderfully flexible minds, Roman in Rome, Greek in Constantinople, Russian in Moscow, always ready to serve whoever offers more dignity and especially more money. To what extent Ligarides respected the work of his predecessor is hard to say, but the later history of this adventurer allows all suspicions. The work is so poorly composed that it would not be worth pausing over, were it not for this unfortunate attribution to Barlaam of a work that has absolutely nothing to do with the Calabrian monk, which would disappear from history. It is all the more useful to clarify this issue because a scholar of Allatius' caliber, going further than Arcudius, even goes so far as to shout falsification and does not hesitate to assert that the true author of the pamphlet is a 16th-century Protestant! Here is how this strange hypothesis is formulated: "As for my opinion on that book, I say that it was taken from the bosom of heretics, composed at the time when Lutherans thought they were successfully engaging with the Greek Church, as they tried to defend it against the Roman Church, and at the same time they sought to make it united with it; I think it was translated from Latin into Greek. No Greek would have shamelessly tackled this issue, who revered the authority

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of the holy Fathers, and kissed their words as if they were divine utterances, and when dealing with them, always referred to their names with the utmost reverence in writing. But the author, whoever he is, despises the testimonies of the Fathers, maliciously misrepresents their words, and does not hesitate to brand them with the stigma of heresy. Moreover, he calls upon only the Sacred Scriptures, rejecting the writings of the Fathers, and six hundred other things which neither the Greeks themselves, nor Mark of Ephesus, nor Barlaam, though they fiercely opposed the Latins, would have dared to note in writing." Allatius, it must be said, truly goes too far in his constant desire to exonerate his compatriots, and one can only smile at his literary acumen when he claims that Mark of Ephesus, to name just him, would not have dared speak in such a manner of ecclesiastical writers who opposed his own views. Indeed, there is no longer any doubt: the greater part of this pamphlet is taken, word for word, from Mark of Ephesus. This is easy to prove.

Upon reading the *De Purgatorio igne liber unus* with some attention, one quickly realizes: 1) that it is not an individual work, but a collective one, composed—an important detail to note—after a long and difficult journey: *zyén to pónon hypostasi katà tēn makrán taútēn apodēmian tosoútōn* (21); 2) that it is addressed to those who worked hard to bring the Greeks to this assembly: *hymîn te tosoúd' hypèr tēs prokeiménēs hēmōn synéleuses prokatabaloménois spoudés* (ib.); 3) that it was presented at the beginning of the deliberations, before the examination of any other question, a circumstance the authors used to express the wish for a peaceful solution not only to the present issue but to all other disputed points: *ouk epi tou prokeimenou nyní toútou zētēmatos elpīs esti genēsthai mónon, alla kai epi pántōn tōn isōs tōn állōn* (ib.); 4) that it constitutes a reply to a presentation made earlier by the Latins, which it examines, one by one, all of their arguments, starting with the summary at the

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beginning, which, as already noted, is the very formula of the future decree of Florence; 5) finally, that it responds, under section 218, to the fifth argument of the Latins drawn from Roman primacy, and this argument indeed occupies the fifth position in the Cedula presented by the Latins. And if, after recalling these general characteristics, we move on to the examination of the material composition of the piece, one immediately notices that much of it comes from the first speech of Mark of Ephesus. If the general order common to both works, that is to say, Mark's speech and the anonymous reply, is naturally dictated by the Latin document to which it was responding, it is impossible, however, outside the hypothesis of direct collaboration, to explain the presence in the anonymous piece of entire pages literally borrowed from Mark's first speech. It is especially when we arrive at the reasoning arguments that conclude the piece that the plagiarism becomes obvious.

Here, there is a pure and simple transcription with no modification whatsoever. Unless we treat Mark as a plagiarist without apparent reason, we must therefore admit that he himself, in agreement with his colleague Bessarion, contributed part of his own work to the collective reply. And since we know, moreover, that these two prelates alone were tasked with responding to the Latins, we come to this conclusion, as certain as it is unexpected: that all the passages in the reply that are not identical, in substance or in form, to Mark's first speech belong specifically to Bessarion. It was indeed Bessarion, according to Dorotheus of Mitylene, who spoke on behalf of the Greeks during the session of June 14, where he answered, point by point and in writing, the Latin presentation. Thus, it is natural to think that the parts not borrowed from Mark's first speech belong to the Metropolitan of Nicaea. The divergence between the two pieces is particularly noticeable at the beginning. Now, we know exactly from Syropoulos that the emperor, after reviewing the responses of Mark

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and Bessarion, found the latter's superior in the preamble and the presentation of the question, while for the actual argumentation, Mark's work surpassed his colleague's in his eyes. Therefore, he ordered that Bessarion's text be kept for the beginning and that Mark's text be added for the second part. These details, we have all the less reason to doubt, as they fit perfectly with the composition of the anonymous reply, if we carefully compare it with Mark's first speech. One small detail still deserves to be noted. According to the same Syropoulos, the emperor reproached Bessarion for addressing his opponents, at the beginning of his reply, with the formula Ἡ ἄνδρες λατίνοι, whereas it would have been more appropriate to say Πατέρες αἰθέσιοι, or some other similar expression. And what do we read at the head of the collective reply? This formula: Αἰδισιμώτατοι κύριοι καὶ πατέρες, very close, I must admit, to the one the emperor suggested. The conclusion is inevitable: the so-called liber unus de Purgatorio igne is nothing other than the collective reply of Mark and Bessarion. We are far, very far, from Allatius' hypothesis; but our demonstration is based not on vague impressions, where patriotic sensitivity always plays a certain role, but on palpable facts, on precise observations.

Here is, finally, another of exceptional gravity. The Latins, having replied, as was to be expected, to the Responsio Graecorum, one need only compare their reply with the Greek document to realize that it is not directed at Mark's speech, but at the anonymous Responsio. The original Latin work, by John of Torquemada, if we are to believe Syropoulos, has not yet been found; but its official Greek translation has come down to us in a manuscript from Milan. It can be read, in this collection, under number IV, accompanied by a Latin translation based on the Greek, awaiting the opportunity to present the actual text of the Latin Delegates. If one takes the trouble to compare the two documents that concern us, it becomes clear that the Latin document is the counterpart to the anonymous Responsio, and

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not to Mark's first speech. The Latins, in their prologue, do not fail to recall the conciliatory words with which the *Responsio* began—above all, the Greeks had declared that the goal was to find the truth, not to defeat an opponent. Nothing similar appears in the rather severe and harsh prologue of Mark. The Latins then recall the general content of the Greek reply, and the four distinct parts it is composed of. The details they mention correspond perfectly to the *Responsio* and finally to the speech of the Archbishop of Ephesus. He had not addressed, in his first speech, the argument the Latins presented concerning the belief, on this doctrinal point, of the Roman Church; the *Responsio*, on the contrary, responds with a rejection, and the Latins, in their reply, bitterly complain about this lack of respect toward the first See of Christendom.

The examination of the reasoning arguments, which conclude both Mark's speech and the anonymous *Responsio*, leads to the same conclusion: it is to the latter, not the former, that the Latins replied. They are astonished that their only argument of reason, drawn from divine justice, received no answer from the Greeks. This reproach clearly applies to the *Responsio*, where this argument was indeed not addressed, but it cannot be said of Mark's speech, which devotes a rather long development to it. The third argument gives rise to similar observations: Mark does not discuss it, while the *Responsio* presents it exactly as the Latins did. Curious indeed, this argument was based on a theory of Saint Thomas about the immutability of the will in the damned, and it is known, on the other hand, that Bessarion's library contained the Greek translation of the *Summa*. A secondary but interesting piece of evidence, this establishes beyond doubt that the part of the *Responsio* not reproduced in Mark's first speech is indeed the work of Bessarion. Since the other arguments are common to both the *Responsio* and Mark's first speech, they are clearly from the Archbishop of Ephesus. But let us also note this

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detail: the ninth argument of Mark, which is rather weak, was omitted in the drafting of the *Responsio*; this explains why it is not found in the Latins' reply. It is therefore obvious that the Latins replied not to Mark's first speech, but to the *Responsio*, and there can no longer be any doubt about the origin of this latter document. Thus, I felt it necessary, although it was not entirely unknown, to include in this publication the so-called *Liber de Purgatorio*, but by restoring to it a title it should never have lost. Apart from this piece, published in collections that are difficult to access, if not impossible to find, and in a very imperfect manner, without any references, this current volume contains only unpublished documents, if not in themselves, at least for the vast majority of the scholarly world. Mark's three speeches have, in fact, been uncovered in small segments in a weekly journal from Constantinople, *La Vérité*, which, after a year, became *La Vérité Ecclésiastique*. This journal is so little distributed outside that I have so far been unable to find a complete collection of it, even in the capital of Greece.

Would foreign capitals outside Hellenism be more favored? Even then, another edition would be required, so poorly was the first editor tasked with the work, as will be easy to verify by consulting the variants provided at the bottom of the pages of this publication. Do I need to say that Mark's work deserved to be pulled from obscurity? It contains, I must admit, many subtle passages, but, on the whole, it is remarkably instructive. Even after reading Allatius, Arcudius, and Valentin Loch, to name just the authors who have treated the subject *ex professo*, one could still wonder what exactly the Orthodox world believed concerning Purgatory, on certain specific points. Mark of Ephesus answers most of these questions, skillfully as always, but with great frankness. Thus, one understands why the theologians of the East have always turned with pleasure to the speeches delivered at Ferrara by the Archbishop of Ephesus. His brother, John Eugenikos,

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nomophylax, speaks of them in these terms in his *Antirrhetikos* from the Council of Florence: *Satis itaque superque nobis sunt tum veteris tum novi Testamenti innumera de hoc testimonia nec minus superabundant una cum aliis et sanctissimi patris et praesulis et praeceptoris nostri tractatus nunc primum Ferraria recitati et concinnati, et locis in omnibus divulgati.* One will not be surprised, therefore, to see the Greeks borrow from Mark the elements of their teaching on this matter. A literary incident from the 16th century will provide us with a topical proof. The Protestant David Chytraeus (Kochlaffe), returning in 1569 from a long journey to the East, delivered a resounding speech in Wittenberg, in which, while making reservations about certain practices deemed superstitious, he asserted that, overall, the Greeks and Lutherans held an almost uniform belief. Once published, this speech sparked intense polemics in Germany, the echoes of which soon crossed the border.

Moved by such an audacious claim, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine had twelve questions posed to the Greeks in Venice, who were said to be well-educated, asking them to respond in writing. The tenth question was formulated as follows: "*Existimantne Graeci post hanc vitam animas suppliciiis quibusdam propterea purgari, quod in hac vita meritis poenas non dederint?*" The question was precise: how did the Greeks answer? Simply by borrowing one of the best pages from Mark of Ephesus' first speech. If one only reads the Latin translation of these responses, published by Sigismund von Herberstein in his *Commentarii rerum Moscoviticarum* (Bale, 1583), one might fail to notice the plagiarism. But if one takes the trouble to refer to the original Greek text, edited by Jean Lami, the borrowing becomes obvious. It is all the more useful to point this out, as the controversialists do not seem to have known about Lami's edition, which was quite poor, and, incredibly, buried in a commentary on the Epistle to the Corinthians, where one would not think to look for

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such documents. I won't dwell further on this secondary incident, but I like to see it as evidence of the enormous influence exerted on the educated minds of the Greek world by the speeches of Mark of Ephesus.

They therefore deserved, for all these reasons, to emerge from obscurity. Thanks to the generous support provided by His Holiness Benedict XV to M. Graffin, I was able, even in the midst of war, to use the manuscripts from Paris, which could not be sent to Athens, just as, alas, it was impossible to go to them. The unfortunate circumstances we are going through did not allow me to consult all the manuscripts of these speeches preserved in Europe or in the various libraries of the East, nor even to make use of the notes gathered in the past, not without difficulty, on the manuscripts from Constantinople. As the situation created by the war seems likely to persist, it seemed to me that the manuscripts from Paris, Milan, and Oxford provided a sufficient basis for the establishment of the text, and that there was no imprudence in sticking to them.

A simply careful examination of these various manuscripts easily allows them to be classified into two distinct series. Some, like the one from Milan and number 1286 from Paris, present here and there notable divergences with the copies from the other series, which are by far the most numerous. I am not talking about simple textual variants, but about significant additions, which clearly indicate a different recension. This recension is characterized by the presence, among the reasoning arguments that end the first speech, of two syllogisms that are not found in the manuscripts of the other series; by the interversion of the last two of these same arguments; and finally, by the insertion, in the body of the speech, of a text from St. Basil, not to mention other less serious modifications. It is evident, on the other hand, that the two known representatives of this first series do not derive from one another: the one from Paris actually has gaps not

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found in the Ambrosianus, and interpolations that undoubtedly come from the scribe, who scattered many of his own notes along the margins and formulas of admiration so frequent that they quickly become tiresome. Perhaps I will be reproached for having taken the trouble to note them all, and, in truth, one could say of more than one: *Ut quid frustra locum occupat?*

I have given preference, in the establishment of the text, to the manuscript from Milan, the best representative, at least to my knowledge, of the first series. This is because there exists, in favor of this manuscript, aside from intrinsic arguments not lacking in value, an extremely significant external reason: it is the only one to have preserved for us the Greek text of the first two documents presented by the Latins, one at the very beginning of the deliberations; the other, after the first reply from the Greeks. This fact alone is proof that the scribe must have drawn from a good source. It is regrettable that he did not also preserve for us the translation of the series of objections raised by the Latins regarding the response given by Mark of Ephesus to the first Latin reply. If this document, which seems to be of very limited length, had come down to us, our conciliar file regarding the question of Purgatory would be absolutely complete.

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CHAPTERS OF THE LATINS TO THE GREEKS CONCERNING PURGATORIAL FIRE, GIVEN IN WRITING BY THESE DEPUTIES

To those of us and to you, deputies from both the Western and Eastern Churches, gathered in this shrine of Saint Francis, and beginning to discuss the manner of restoring the union of the Holy Latins and Greeks, and also the approach to be taken in discussing the controversies of each Church, you requested that such an inquiry should begin with the purgatorial fire. But since you have requested that the Roman Church's faith be expressed concerning the truth of this matter, we briefly respond in writing: if truly penitent souls depart in charity before they have satisfied the requirements of penance for what has been committed and omitted, their souls are purified by purgatorial punishments after death, and the prayers, masses, almsgiving, and other works of piety of the living faithful are beneficial for relieving these punishments.

However, those souls who, after receiving the sacred baptism, incurred no stain of sin, as well as those who, having incurred the stain of sin, are purified in their bodies or after having cast off their bodies, as previously stated, are immediately received into heaven. But

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the souls of those who die in mortal sin or with original sin alone descend immediately into hell, where they are to be punished with different kinds of punishments. Nevertheless, on the day of judgment, all men will appear before the tribunal of Christ, with their bodies, to give an account of their deeds.

If you say that this is not the dogma of the Eastern Church and desire to know by what authorities of the Sacred Scripture and the holy Fathers this is founded, we, the Deputies, are ready to give an account, according to the doctrine of Saint Peter, to everyone who asks about the faith that is in us. We have thought it fitting to offer this response as satisfaction for your request, which primarily concerns purgatory. However, if you request an explanation of the other matters we have stated, we will also seek, with the guidance of the Holy Spirit and in fraternal charity, to satisfy them.

I. That there is a certain preordained place, as we have just said, and that purgatorial fire exists in the future world, is first declared in the Old Testament in the book of the Maccabees, where it says: "It is a holy and salutary thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins." But for those who are in paradise, there is no need to pray, for they do not need it; nor for those in hell, because they cannot be loosed or purified from their sins. Therefore, there are some who, after this worldly life, can be loosed or purified from their sins.

II. This is also declared by what the Savior says in the New Testament, in Matthew 12: "Whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this world or in the next." In this statement, it is implied that some sins can be forgiven in this world, and some in the next.

III. And by the Apostle Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 3, where he discusses building upon the foundation which is Christ, with gold, silver, precious stones, wood,

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hay, or straw; and then he adds: "The Day of the Lord will reveal it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test the work of each one, what sort it is. If anyone's work survives that has been built upon, they will receive a reward; if anyone's work is burned up, they will suffer loss, but they will be saved, yet so as through fire." These words about the purging fire in the future world explain themselves, for the words "he will be saved, yet so as through fire" cannot be understood as referring to the damned, because they will not be saved but will perish forever; nor can it be understood as referring to those who die without sin, for of these it was recently said: "If anyone's work survives"; but those who die without sin have nothing for which they need to be purged by fire. Therefore, it must be understood as referring to others who are to be purified in another life, yet will be saved.

IV. It is also declared by the universal custom of the Church, both Latin and Greek, which prays for the dead, and has always been accustomed to pray for them. Certainly, such prayer would be useless if purgatory after death were not considered, for it would be in vain to pray for those who are already in heavenly glory or in hell.

V. By the authority of the Holy Roman Church, taught and instructed by the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and by other holy pontiffs, who have shone with innumerable miracles, and whom both Greeks and Latins venerate as saints; for she has always held and preached this, even during the time of union, and continuously before the present outbreak of division.

VI. The truth of this faith of ours is declared by the authority of the holy Fathers of both the Greeks and the Latins, and especially those whom both Latins and Greeks accepted in the universal council, whose words are these: "We follow in all things the holy Fathers and doctors of the Church: Athanasius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophilus,

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John of Constantinople, Cyril, Leo, Proclus, and we accept all things which they have expounded regarding right faith and the condemnation of heretics." From some of these doctors and a few others, we will briefly refer to certain points, for the sake of brevity.

First, Blessed Augustine, in his homily on the purgatorial fire, explaining the words of the Apostle: "No one can lay a foundation other than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus," says: "Many are deceived by a false security, misunderstanding this reading, believing that even if they build upon the foundation of Christ with capital sins, these sins can be purged by a temporary fire, and that they will later reach eternal glory. This understanding, dear brothers, must be corrected, for those who flatter themselves with such thoughts deceive themselves. For by that temporary fire, of which the Apostle speaks, 'he will be saved, yet so as through fire,' not capital sins, but only minor sins are purged."

The same Augustine, in Book XXI of *The City of God*, Chapter 13, says: "Temporary punishments are some in this life only, some after death, and some both now and then; however, after the final and most severe judgment, they will be suffered. Not all come into eternal punishments, which will be future after that judgment, who undergo temporary punishments after death. For some, that which is not forgiven in this life will be forgiven in the future world, that is, so that they are not punished with eternal punishment in the next world, as we have already said."

And in Chapter 24, he says: "For it cannot truly be said of some that they will not be forgiven, either in this world or the next, unless they are those to whom, even if not in this world, it will still be forgiven in the next."

The same Augustine, in the book *On the Care of the Dead*, says: "In the books of the Maccabees, we read of sacrifices offered for the dead; but even if it were never read in the ancient Scriptures, the

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authority of the entire Church, which is evident in this custom, is not insignificant, for in the prayers of the priest, which are offered to the Lord God at His altar, there is a place for the commemoration of the dead."

The same Augustine in the same book says: "The supplications for the souls of the dead should not be omitted, which the Church has undertaken to make for all those who have died in the Christian and Catholic society, even under their names unknown, under the general commemoration. This is so that those who are lacking relatives, or sons, or any kin or friends may be commended by the common mother, the Church. But if these supplications were lacking, which are made with true faith and piety for the dead, I think that it would do nothing for their spirits, even if their lifeless bodies were placed in holy places."

The same Augustine in the book *On Penitence* says: "Penitence, if it comes at the end of life, heals and frees by the washing of baptism; so that those who are baptized at the end of their lives do not experience purgatory. But those endowed with the blessings of the holy mother Church will receive abundant good in true blessedness." And a little further on, he says: "Late penitence often deceives many. But because God is always powerful, He can always help, even in death, those to whom it pleases Him. Therefore, since fruitful penitence is the work of God and not of man, He can inspire it whenever He wills with His mercy, and reward with mercy those whom He could condemn with justice. But since there are many things which hinder and delay, it is most dangerous and close to ruin to delay penitence until death. But even if the penitent lives, and does not die, we do not promise that he will escape all punishment, for he must first be purged by the fire of purgatory, who has delayed the fruit of his conversion into the next life; here, however, though this fire is

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not eternal, it is nevertheless heavy in a wondrous way, for it exceeds all the punishment anyone has ever suffered in this life."

The same Augustine, in a certain sermon on the dead, which begins with *Omnium Christianorum spes*, says: "Therefore, he says, in the prayers of the Church, and in the saving sacrifice, and in the almsgiving which is offered for their souls, there is no doubt that the dead are helped, that the Lord may deal with them more mercifully than their sins deserve. For this is what the Fathers have handed down, and the whole Church observes it, that for those who have died in communion with the body and blood of Christ, when they are commemorated at the sacrifice in their place, prayer is offered." And below: "For it is not to be doubted that these things help the dead, who lived in such a way before death that these things can be of use to them after death."

Saint Ambrose, explaining the words "but he will be saved, yet so as through fire," says: "He will not be saved without punishment. For by this, he says, he will be saved, but will suffer the punishments of fire, so that through fire he may be purified and saved, and not like the wicked, who will be tormented with eternal fire forever: so that, in some way, it will be worth it to have believed in Christ."

Blessed Gregory the Great, the Supreme Pontiff, in the first book of his *Dialogues*, brings forth many examples from revelations, proving the existence of Purgatory, and among other things, he says: "As each one departs from here, such he is presented in judgment; but still, it must be believed that some sins are to be purged by the fire before judgment, as the Truth says: 'But whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this world or in the next.' In this sentence, it is understood that some sins can be forgiven in this world, and some in the next. What is denied for one, the consequent

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understanding is clear, because it is granted for some. But still, as I said, this is to be believed to be possible for small and minor sins."

Also, the great Saint Basil, in his prayers, which are customarily said on the vigil of Pentecost, in one of them, which begins with "Eternal flowing..." prays for the dead: "Hear us as we pray, and give rest to the souls of Your servants, the forefathers, and brothers, and other kin, and all those who were united with us in faith." In the following prayer, which begins with "Lord, Almighty God, Father of mercies," he says: "Hear us humbly praying, and give rest to the souls of Your servants, who have fallen asleep in a bright place, in a verdant place, in a place of refreshment, where sorrow, groaning, and mourning have been far removed, and set their spirits among the dwellings of the just, of peace and remission."

In the funeral rites of the dead, the Savior is addressed thus: "I am the image of Your ineffable glory, though I bear the marks of sin. Have mercy, Lord, and through Your mercy cleanse me, and grant me the desired homeland, and restore me to the paradise of Your court."

Gregory Nyssen, in his Dialogue on Consolation and the State of Souls After Death, introduces his sister Macrina, who speaks after the death of her brother, Blessed Basil: "For it is not out of hatred or revenge that my opinion holds that God inflicts pain on those who have sinned by living wickedly; He who seizes and exacts, and draws to Himself whatever His grace has brought into the world; but He, with better counsel, attracts the soul to Himself, who is the fountain of all beatitude: but from necessity, what is attracted to Him endures that sharp affection." And further: "And just as the material mixed with gold is purified by fire, not only is the adulterated part liquefied by the fire, but the pure gold also must necessarily be melted along with the mixture, and what is pure remains, while the adulterated part is consumed; so, when wickedness is consumed by

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purgatory fire, it is necessary that the soul, which is joined with wickedness, remain in the fire until all the adulterated material and mixture is removed by the fire."

The same Gregory, in the book he wrote about those who sleep, says: "As long as the power remains in nature to avoid evil, divine wisdom has devised this plan: that man should be allowed to be in what he wills, that by tasting what he desires, having experienced the evils, he might, by nature, spontaneously rush to the former beatitude and eagerly return to it, shaking off every irrational and harmful weight, whether in the present life with great intention and wisdom, or after this life by the purging fire of purgatory."

Also, of this purgatory, of which we now speak, the blessed Dionysius is a witness in chapter V of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, where speaking of the prayer the hierarch makes over one who is sleeping, he says: 'Then the divine hierarch, proceeding, makes a holy prayer over the one who sleeps.' And further: 'Indeed, in his prayer the hierarch petitions the divine goodness that He may forgive all the sins committed by human weakness, and may lead him into light and the realm of the living, into the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from where sorrow, sadness, and groaning flee.'

Also, Saint Epiphanius, who, against the blasphemer Aerius and among other things saying that the prayers of the living do not benefit the dead, says: 'Finally, what is more useful than recalling the names of the dead? What is more fitting and wondrous than if we believe that those who have passed from here are living, and that their substance has not perished, but that they live and are with the Lord, as a religious doctrine is preached, by which those who pray for their brothers can hope well for them, as for those who have gone on a journey? Moreover, the prayers made for the dead are useful, although they do not extinguish all sins. However, they benefit, because often, while still living on earth, we are led, whether willingly or unwillingly,

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to signify that which is more perfect. For we make mention of both the just and the sinners: for sinners, that they may implore mercy from the Lord; for the just, and for the fathers and patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, anchorites, and all the righteous, that in honoring the Lord Jesus Christ with special reverence, we may separate them from the rank of other men.' And further down: 'But leaving these aside, I return to the point where I diverged, and I must say that the Church, which has received this ritual from her ancestors, should do this.'*

This is in harmony with what Damascene says in a certain sermon on the suffrages for the dead, saying: 'The disciples of the Savior, aware of the mysteries, made memorials of those who have fallen asleep faithfully in the tremendous and life-giving mysteries.' This is referred to by Blessed Thomas in Sentences, Book IV, Distinction 45, Article 1.*

The bishop Theodoret of Cyrrhus also testifies to the existence of this purgatory fire, saying: 'The Apostle says that he will be saved, so as through a purgatory fire, purging whatever it finds due to the carelessness of past life, from the dust of even the feet of earthly sense; in this fire he remains as long as any corporeality or earthly affection clings to him, to be purged. For this, Mother Church prays and offers devoutly peaceful gifts; and thus, through these, purified, he comes forth and stands before the purest eyes of the Lord of hosts.'*

VII. In the seventh, the above truth is explained by divine justice, which leaves nothing unpunished that has been done in an unregulated manner, and which, as Scripture says, establishes the measure of punishment according to the measure of sin. Therefore, since for every sin a man deserves a certain punishment, if he does not satisfy it in this world, the order of divine justice continues so that he may satisfy it in the future, otherwise he would remain unpunished.

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But if someone departs in contrition, he will not satisfy this punishment in hell, according to that: 'The sinner, in whatever hour he groans, will live and not die,' which must be understood as referring to eternal death. However, in heaven, he will not satisfy the punishment of sin, because it is repugnant to the purity of heaven; for, as Wisdom says, 'nothing polluted enters it, nor does anything impure pass through it.' For heaven is a house of solace, not of punishment; of joy, not sorrow. Therefore, it remains that besides paradise and hell, another place should be assigned, where this purgation takes place; and when this is done, once the soul is no longer polluted or defiled, but is made pure, it immediately flies to God to behold and enjoy Him. Many other things could be added to this. However, we believe that these are sufficient at present to illuminate this chapter. Now, therefore, we ask you to clearly show us in the Scriptures what you think of the things that have been said and exhibit them to us.

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THE METROPOLITAN OF EPHESUS, LORD MARK OF EUGENIKOS, REFUTATION OF THE ARTICLES PRESENTED BY THE LATINS CONCERNING THE FIRE OF PURGATORY

1. Since it is necessary for us to respond with charity to the things you have said, while preserving our religion and the ecclesiastical doctrines received from the Fathers, we place at the forefront, in summary, whatever arguments and testimonies you have presented in writing, so that the response and solution to each may be briefer and clearer. Therefore, these things are said at the beginning of the writing, namely: 'If those truly repentant, before they have made satisfaction for their sins by worthy fruits of repentance, and abandoned them in the love of God, their souls are purified by purgatorial punishments after death; and that they may be relieved from such punishments, the prayers of the living faithful, namely the sacrifices of the Mass, prayers, alms, and other works of piety, are beneficial to them.' To this we respond as follows. Indeed, the sacrifices of the Mass, prayers, and alms which are made for the faithful departed benefit them, as both the usage of the Church, which has long been established, and the various prayers of both Latin

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and Greek doctors recited at different times and places, and transmitted in writing, testify: however, we have not found anywhere expressly written that souls are freed by such aid from certain punishments and the purifying fire, which has this virtue; nor in the prayers and hymns that are offered for them, nor in the books of the doctors. Rather, we have received that those detained in hell, who are already condemned to eternal punishments, whether they are suffering in reality and by practice, or whether they are dreading them with certain expectation, can indeed be lifted up and experience some small consolation, but not completely freed from punishment, nor held by any hope that they will ever gain such liberation.

This is sufficiently demonstrated by the things that are told about the great Macarius, the Egyptian ascetic, who, when he had found a skull in the desert and asked it, was taught by divine power; and also by what St. Basil the Great writes in his prayers for Pentecost, customarily recited: 'You, who have deigned to receive supplications and entreaties for those detained in hell on this most solemn and saving feast, and give us great hopes for the future, that the detained may be released from those burdens with which they are afflicted, and may be comforted by you.' But if the souls of the faithful, having departed from this life, are stained by some blemishes, either lighter ones, for which they did not truly repent, or even heavier ones, for which they did not show repentance with worthy fruits, we believe that they are purified according to the nature of such faults, not by any purgatorial fire or certain punishments determined in a fixed place (for, as we have said, this has never been handed down), but rather in the very exit from the body, through fear itself, as even the holy Gregory the Dialogist plainly declares; but also even after departure, whether they remain in this region of the earth, before they arrive at the worship of God and reach a blessed end, or whether they are detained in hell, they are not certainly in fire and

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punishment, but as being detained in custody and prison, when their faults are more severe and need to be expiated over a longer time. Moreover, we agree that prayers and liturgies offered in their name, with the divine goodness and mercy accompanying them, help them, for such faults are sometimes immediately forgiven and dismissed by the divine goodness and mercy, as admitted by that great Dionysius in his "Consideration on the Mystery" of those who have piously fallen asleep; and sometimes, after some time, by applying just measures, either they are fully released or their offenders are relieved until the final judgment.

However, for the removal of these, we do not see the necessity of another punishment or purgation by fire; for these are purified by fear, those by the torments of conscience, which gnaw the soul more keenly than any fire. And those souls themselves, by the loss of divine glory and the darkness of the future, are tormented. These things, as well as others, torment and chastise the human soul more than anything else, as both experience shows and we have witnesses, such as Saint John Chrysostom, who writes the same in nearly all, or at least in most, of his moral sermons, and also the divine ascetic Dorotheus, who speaks about Conscience in his homily. And concerning the uncertainty of the future, the masters say that they are tormented more by that than by the punishment itself. Thus, the great Gregory the Theologian in his ninth prayer on the Plague of Hail says: 'These indeed are received by the ineffable light and the contemplation of the holy and royal Trinity; but those, together with others, or rather above others, experience that torment, namely, being cast away by God, and the shame of conscience, having no end.'

2. Therefore, in order that they may be freed from such evils, we both pray and believe to God for those who have fallen asleep, but not from any other punishment or fire, except that which has been threatened to last for eternity. Moreover, the souls of the departed are

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testified to be freed from the detention of hell, as from a certain prison, through prayers, as Theophanes the Confessor, who is called Graptus, along with many others, attests, he who sealed his sermons with the blood of martyrdom, having had the image of Christ inscribed on his forehead. For he prays in one of the canons for the departed as follows: 'Deliver your servants, O Savior, from the tears and groans of hell.' Do you hear? He said tears and groans, not from any punishment or purgatorial fire. But if the mention of some fire appears in these hymns and prayers anywhere, it is not some temporary fire that has the power of purgation, but that very eternal fire and everlasting torment, from which those who have departed in faith pray to be delivered. The holy men, moved by mercy and compassion for their fellow beings, pray and dare to ask this, which can scarcely be granted. For Saint Theodore the Studite, the confessor and witness of the truth, says in the very beginning of his canon for the departed: 'We pray to Christ, remembering those who have died since the world began, that He may deliver them from the eternal fire, since they died in faith and hope of eternal life.' Then also, in another troparion of the fifth ode, he says: 'Deliver from the fire which always burns, from the dark mist, from the gnashing of teeth, and from the worm that never ceases to torment, and from any other punishment, O Savior, all who have piously fallen asleep.' Where is this purgatorial fire? If it were to be clearly acknowledged, where would it be more fittingly expressed by the saint than in this place? Certainly, are those holy men not heard by God while they pray these things? It is not for us to judge; but they themselves decide the matter, as does the Spirit dwelling in them, by whom they spoke and wrote, and indeed the Lord Christ, who gave the command to pray for our enemies, and who prayed for those crucifying Him, and who inspired Stephen, the proto-martyr, to pray the same while he was being stoned. But, someone might say, when we pray for such people, surely we are not

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heard. Let it be so, but all that lies with us, we fulfill; and indeed some saints, when they prayed not only for the faithful but also for the unbelievers, were heard and delivered them from eternal punishment, as is said about Thecla, the proto-martyr, and the blessed Gregory the Dialogist, who, as it is reported, freed Emperor Trajan from eternal torment.

3. Therefore, for all such men, sacred prayers and Masses are performed by the Church and by us. As for those who already enjoy divine beatitude, the efficacy of these prayers, especially the secret sacrifice, is shown by those things we say in the prayers of the Mass, prepared by the great John Chrysostom, namely: 'We also offer this reasonable service for those who have fallen asleep in the faith, for the ancestors, the fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, the ascetics, and for every soul that has passed away with faith in their life.' For although we do not specifically pray for goods from God for them, we give thanks for them and we perform this for their glory; and in this way, the sacrifice is also offered for them, even in a small way, and it contributes to their benefit. Indeed, if we ask for something, there is nothing surprising in it, for Dionysius, the expounder of divine matters, in his "Contemplation of the Mystery," which is said to be offered for those who have piously fallen asleep, says: 'The priest, for those who have lived holy lives, asks God for the clearest and most divine life from Him, to be rendered in return for their just judgments, and also for the good things promised by Him and certainly to be given, so that the one who is regarded as the interpreter of divine laws may also ask for divine gifts as if they were his own rewards, and may make clear what he requests according to the sacred rite, that these will indeed be granted to those who have been perfected according to the divine life.' Therefore, since this efficacy extends to all, and since the aid of the secret prayers and sacrifices helps almost all those who have fallen

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asleep in faith, as has been shown, we see no necessary reason to assert that such help can only be given to those dwelling in purgatorial fire.

4. After these things, you have wished to further prove the doctrine of purgatorial fire. First, indeed, from the Book of Maccabees, in which it is written, 'It is a good and wholesome thing to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins'; and then from the Gospel according to Matthew, where the Savior says, 'Anyone who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in this age or in the age to come'; from which it seems to be implied that some remission is given in the future life. However, that these do not introduce a purgatorial fire is more clearly evident. For what has remission in common with purgation by fire and punishment? Indeed, if remission is granted, whether by prayers or by divine mercy alone, there is no longer any need for punishment or purgation; but if punishment and purgation are established together (for this is why they are established, and they would be completely pointless if purgation did not take place through them), then it seems we are offering prayers in vain and praising God's mercy in vain. Therefore, from the testimonies presented, purgatorial fire is not confirmed but rather disproven; for in these, the remission of sins is shown as the effect of some royal power and mercy, not as liberation from punishment or purgation.

5. The third testimony, which is drawn from the first epistle of the blessed Paul to the Corinthians, where the Apostle, while speaking of one who builds upon the foundation, which is Christ, with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, or straw, adds: 'For the Day of the Lord will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test each one's work, of what sort it is. If anyone's work remains that he has built on, he will receive a reward; if anyone's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, but he himself will be saved, yet so as through fire.' — This, I say, seems to be the testimony that most of all

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suggests purgatorial fire; yet it undermines it the most. For, in the first place, the blessed Apostle said that the fire has the power to test, but not to purge; then, he declared that even the finest and most precious works would pass through it; these, as is clear, do not require purgation. Afterward, he says that those who have borne evil works will suffer loss when their works are burned, but those who are purified will not only suffer no loss but will gain much. Furthermore, he says that such things will happen on that day, namely, the Day of Judgment and the future age; for the Day will declare it, he says, since it will be revealed in fire. But to apply purgatorial fire to that time, that is, after the terrible arrival of the Judge and the final sentence, is it not very absurd? For the Scripture gives us no such thing; indeed, that very one who will judge us says, 'These will go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life'; and again, 'They will go forth to the resurrection of life, but those who have done evil to the resurrection of condemnation'; yet He does not leave any intermediate place, but after He divides all those to be judged into two parts, setting some on His right hand, others on His left, calling those on the right sheep, and those on the left goats, He addresses them individually, without ever mentioning a third group, who should be purified by that fire. Therefore, it seems that the fire spoken of by the Apostle is that which David the prophet says: 'A fire will blaze before Him, and a mighty storm will be round about Him'; and elsewhere, 'Fire will go before Him and will consume His enemies round about,' and Daniel again: 'A fiery stream issued and came forth from before Him.' Indeed, this fire makes the saints, who bear no work or mark of wickedness, brighter, as gold is refined in the furnace or as the stone they call asbestos, which, when placed in the fire, seems to be reduced to charcoal, but when taken out of the fire, becomes brighter, as the bodies of those three holy youths in the Babylonian furnace; but the sinners, who have readily offered their

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vice, like easily combustible fuel to that fire, will soon be seized and set on fire, and their work, that is, their evil will or deed, will be utterly consumed. But they themselves will be deprived of the things they have carried, namely, the wicked goods; yet they will be saved, that is, they will be forever kept and guarded, so that they will not perish together with their wickedness.

6. And this interpretation of that particular passage is also presented by the holy father Chrysostom (who indeed is called the mouth of Paul among us, just as Paul is called the mouth of Christ), explaining the epistle, with Paul himself dictating, as Proclus, his disciple and successor in the seat, was shown in a vision, and delivering a special sermon on this very statement, so that the followers of Origen, whose opinion seems to align more with yours than with ours, might not draw this saying into their own meaning, and so weaken the Church, asserting that the damnation of the reprobate will eventually cease, and the complete restoration of the wicked will occur; for he says that a sinner will be saved "as through fire," meaning he will remain subject to fire, but will not be utterly consumed along with his evil works and vices. On this fire, the great Basil also speaks in his *Morals*, interpreting the Psalm verse, "Before the Lord's fire burns," where he says: "The fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels is extinguished by the voice of the Lord: for, since it has two properties, one which burns and the other which illuminates, the harshness and torment of the fire must remain for those deserving of burning, while its brightness and radiance must be destined to the happiness of those who will lead a joyful and blessed life." Therefore, it seems that this cutting and division of the fire will occur when, with its power dissolved, the clear and shining works of those who have provided them will shine even more brightly, as the light will remain for the reward of those who will receive it eternally. But those who have produced evil and facilitated their own burning

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will gain salvation in the worst form of perdition, forever remaining in a fire that persists (for this is what "saved" properly signifies), lest it seem that they too might be entirely consumed, since fire has the power to destroy. Many others among our countrymen also understood this statement in the same manner. But if someone interprets it differently, understanding "salvation" as liberation from punishment, and "passing through fire" as purification, they are entirely mistaken, if it is permissible to speak thus. Nor is it surprising, for we see many learned interpreters of Scripture explaining the same passages in various ways, without all of them arriving at the same fullness of meaning; for it is impossible for the same text explained in different ways to suit everyone equally. We, however, must choose those interpretations that are more consistent with the principal ecclesiastical dogmas, leaving the others aside. Therefore, we will by no means change the interpretation, even though Augustine gives this interpretation, or Gregory the Dialogist, or some other of your learned men; for this interpretation offers less support for a temporary purgatorial fire than the opinion of Origen, which postulates the restoration and liberation of souls from punishment through that fire, an opinion which, as a common pest of the Church, was condemned and anathematized by the fifth general council, and has ultimately been entirely rejected.

7. Thus, in this way, we respond to the testimonies which you have presented from sacred Scripture. Then, furthermore, you have referred to certain sayings of the holy Fathers that seem to support your opinion, presenting some words of the fifth general synod, in which it is decreed that one must assent to all the Fathers, whose sayings you have decided to expound and accept, including Augustine and Ambrose, who certainly seem to have more openly taught about this purgatorial fire. However, we are entirely unaware of those words, for the acts of that synod are not found among us; therefore, we

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request that they be presented, if indeed they are written down among you. For it seems rather strange to us that Theophilus has been listed among the other Doctors, since there are no works of his on matters of faith, but his infamous behavior is universally notorious, especially for his fury against Chrysostom and his other misdeeds, for which he was later, after his death, penalized with deposition and anathema, according to a letter that Pope Innocent is said to have written.

8. Nevertheless, if the testimonies of blessed Augustine are to be examined, in the first place, explaining that apostolic saying, he says that the temporary and transient fire, of which the apostle speaks, "But he himself will be saved, yet so as through fire," is for the purification of light sins, not mortal sins. But this explanation, which Chrysostom gives, as we said, is opposed both to the sense of that saying and to your opinion: for if that fire is revealed at that time, and it will be both temporary and transient, beginning and ending, which the apostle by no means says, where is that purgatorial fire which you firmly hold exists, by which immediately after death sinners are taken away? How long, then, will that fire torment men who are passing through it, if it is temporary and transient? Moreover, it contradicts the testimony which is presented next, drawn from the book *De Civitate Dei*; for in that work he says: "Not all come to eternal punishments, which are to be after that judgment, those who suffer temporal punishments after death." Therefore, if after death, temporal punishments, whether by fire as you affirm or through other means as we say, follow, and eternal punishment immediately follows that judgment, when then will that purgatorial fire take place and purify those who are about to pass through it? Moreover, Gregory the Theologian does not say that the fire is temporary and transient, but rather more severe and lasting, just as Chrysostom does. For in his prayer for the Novatians he writes: "Perhaps there they will be

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baptized by fire, the final baptism, which is more laborious and lasting, and which consumes the material like hay and destroys all the lightness of malice." You see how lightly your doctors have touched the meaning of these passages, and have not penetrated fully, as did that golden-tongued John and this theologian, along with other great lights of the Church?

9. As for the things which follow, both blessed Augustine and the holy father Ambrose, some of them do not openly affirm the purgatorial fire, except that the dead are aided by liturgies and prayers made on their behalf; others, however, clearly state it, but we fear that some corruption or addition has crept in, as often happens with the works of saints among us; especially since such writings, when translated into our language, were in no way based on the foundation of the sacred Scriptures, as we said. And perhaps someone might say, explaining these words, that the Fathers were almost forced to make such an interpretation of the Apostle's words. Indeed, lest any guilt seem to be purged by these, and thus a conclusion of damnation be drawn, as was Origen's view, since they could not, as is probable, understand the force of the words in translation, they declared the purification of light sins, and indicated a dismissal. As for the blessed Gregory, whom you say in the fourth book of his *Dialogues* demonstrated purgatory with many examples and revelations, he indeed considers that there is truly a purgatorial fire after death, before that final judgment, whether he interprets it allegorically or sincerely believes it. However, the testimonies from the sacred Scriptures which he adduces to confirm this do not carry any necessity with them, as we previously said; and the narrations and revelations which he presents do not indicate any fixed place for the purgatorial fire. For those who are thus purified, he asserts that some are subjected to baths to serve those who are washed; others, through revelation, appeared burning in various places; all of which seem to be

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nothing other than miracles and revelations privately shown by God to lead to the conversion and repentance of the living; but the universal purgatorial fire is not in any way proven by any of these arguments. In fact, through what follows, the doctrine of the purgatorial fire is entirely overturned. For he says that the smallest and lightest sins in the righteous are purged by the compensation of other good works in this life; others, upon leaving the body, are purged only through fear; and others, even after death, are purified through the alms and offerings made in their name. So why, then, the purgatorial fire, when there are so many means of purification available? Thus, we respond to your doctors, where it seems they disagree with us; for there is no other way to explain those things.

10. Moreover, the words of the great Basil, in which, praying to God for the departed in the prayers for Pentecost, he implores rest for them and that they may be numbered among the just, establish nothing at all regarding purgatorial fire. Similarly, in the hymn we sing for the dead, in which we address God on behalf of the deceased, saying: "Have mercy on your creation, Lord, and cleanse it in your mercy," a purification indeed seems to be implied, but not through fire, rather through divine mercy and goodness alone. For it would be absurd to ask for someone who has already been purified by fire to be cleansed further through mercy. Rather, we beseech that the stains which hinder them from enjoying the vision of God may be removed solely by divine goodness. We call this purification.

11. As for the statements of the blessed Gregory of Nyssa that are subsequently presented, it would have been better to pass over them in silence than to compel us to openly defend them. For this teacher appears to clearly assent to Origenist doctrines, particularly in those prayers where he concludes that condemnation is nothing other than a certain purification and a furnace drawing souls to God through pain and labor, with the eventual restoration of all

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things, even the demons themselves, so that, as he says, God may be “all in all,” according to the Apostle’s teaching. Since such an authority is presented alongside the others, we first respond, as we have received from our fathers, that these are likely corruptions and interpolations introduced by certain heretics who adhered to Origen’s ideas. Many such heretics flourished in those times, especially in the regions of Egypt and Palestine, to make it seem as though they had the holy and great luminary [Gregory] as the patron of their opinion. Secondly, we say that the holy Gregory, even if he did truly hold such an opinion, was still a man and liable to error, especially since this doctrine was controversial at the time, neither fully resolved nor entirely rejected, which only occurred at the Fifth Council. Thus, it is not surprising if he deviated somewhat from the truth, as happened to many others before him—such as Irenaeus, bishop of the Lugdunenses, Dionysius of Alexandria, and others. For even they gave some occasion for calumniators with their words. Moreover, that this doctrine was controversial and not yet fully clarified is testified by Gregory the Theologian, who, in his discourse on baptism, discussing the inextinguishable fire, adds the following: “Unless someone wishes to understand this more humanely, and as punishment deserving of mercy.” You see how he allows anyone willing to interpret that fire in a more benevolent manner? However, at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, this opinion was deemed utterly inhumane; therefore, since it undermined the Church and weakened the more diligent believers, it was anathematized. Those words, if indeed they were spoken by the illustrious Gregory concerning that fire, imply not a partial but a perfect purification and the complete restoration of all things. However, they do not persuade us, who adhere to the common opinion of the entire Church and use sacred Scripture as our rule and norm, not considering what any individual wrote peculiarly on the matter, nor embracing the writings of others who may have proposed

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different ideas about purgatorial fire. For neither does Scripture teach a dual punishment or a dual fire.

12. Later, other statements are introduced, those of the divine Dionysius, the great Epiphanius, and the eminent theologian Damascenus, which assert nothing at all concerning purgatorial fire, but rather overturn the concept. For they say that it is solely through divine goodness that sins committed by human frailty and carried into death are forgiven. They also show that the sacrifices of the Mass and prayers offered for the dead are beneficial to them. But it has already been said that we also hold and affirm the same, both in belief and in practice. Furthermore, the authority of the blessed Theodoret, which you present, is neither known nor accepted by us, and we would like to know from you where it was taken from and from which of his works.

13. Furthermore, you have said, "The proposed dogma is made quite evident if one considers divine justice, which leaves no disorderly offense unpunished. Therefore, since it is impossible for those who have not fully paid their penalty in this life to do so either in heaven or in hell, it follows necessarily that there exists a third, separate place, where this purification occurs, through which, once cleansed, one is immediately raised to heavenly enjoyment." To this argument, we respond as follows, and let it be considered entirely true and just. It is indeed beyond dispute that the remission of sins is accompanied by liberation from the penalty owed for them; for as soon as someone is absolved of their sins, they are also freed from the penalty owed for those sins. This remission, however, is granted in three ways and at different times: first, at the time of baptism; second, after baptism through repentance, sorrow, and the compensation of good works in this life; and finally, after death, through prayers, alms, and other works performed by the Church for the dead. The first remission, indeed, is entirely free from labor, open to all equally, just

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like the outpouring of light, the vision of the sun, and the succession of seasons; for it is entirely a matter of grace and demands nothing from us except faith. The second, however, involves much labor, like that of “one who washes his bed and couch with tears every night,” who still bears the scars of sin, who walks in mourning and sorrow, and who imitates the repentance of the Ninevites and the humility of Manasseh, to whom mercy was granted. The third, while laborious in its own way (as it involves repentance, a striking conscience, and lamenting lost goods), is entirely free from penalty, since it is remission itself. For remission and penalty cannot coexist. In the first and last cases, divine grace plays the greater part, aided by prayers, and what we contribute is minimal. On the other hand, in the second case, grace plays a lesser role, while the greater effort is required from us. The first remission differs from the last in this respect: the former completely removes all sins, while the latter removes only those that are not mortal and of which one has repented in life. This is the belief of the Church of God, which, while praying for the remission of the dead and hoping it will be granted, does not impose any penalty on them, knowing well that the reasoning of justice in such matters is far surpassed by divine goodness.

14. I. Indeed, if, as Gregory the Theologian says, the very desire for the divine presence—that is, love—purifies those who desire God in this life, and if the purified are rendered godlike and addressed by God as His own, how could the same desire, after death, fail to purify souls freed from bodily matter, such that a purgatorial fire would still be necessary to atone for minor sins?

II. Moreover, it is more fitting to divine goodness not to disregard a small good than to punish a minor sin. Yet, a small good in those who have gravely sinned earns no reward because of the overwhelming weight of their wickedness. Likewise, a minor evil in those who have done many noble deeds does not deserve punishment,

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because their greater deeds outweigh it. For if the greater is not, certainly the lesser will not be. Therefore, there is no reason to suppose the existence of purgatorial fire.

III. Similarly, as a small good in otherwise wicked people does not result in a reward but only lessens punishment, so a small evil in otherwise good people will not result in punishment but only a diminished enjoyment of reward. Thus, it should not be thought that there is purgatorial fire.

IV. Furthermore, if the perfect reward for those pure in heart and soul is the vision of God, and not all receive this equally, then purification cannot be uniform, nor would there be any reason for purgatorial fire. For if some had imperfect purification, all would have to be equally purified by the same fire and equally made fit to see God. This allegorically and figuratively occurred on the mountain where the law was given: "For not all were deemed worthy in the same state or order, but each according to their mode and measure of purification," as Gregory the Theologian observes.

V. Also, the great Gregory the Theologian, in his mystical discourse on Easter, when he reaches the part where he says, "We shall take nothing out, nor leave anything over for the next day," explicitly and clearly asserts that there will be no purification beyond the present night, calling the present night the life of each person and denying any purification after it.

VI. Likewise, in his discourse on the plague of hail, he states: "I omit to speak of the torments there, to which the impunity of the wicked in this life delivers them, so that it is better to be chastised and purified now than to be afflicted with punishment there, when it will be a time for punishment, not purification." He plainly declares that there is no purification after departing this life, only eternal punishment.

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VII. Finally, our Lord, in the parable from the Gospel according to Luke about the rich man and Lazarus, teaches the condition that befell each of them. He says that Lazarus, upon dying, was immediately carried by angels to the bosom of Abraham, while the rich man, upon dying, was buried, and his soul was found in torment in hell. Having thus signified by the bosom of Abraham the supreme and blessed rest of those pleasing to God, and by hell and torment the ultimate damnation and eternal punishment of the wicked, He left no middle place containing temporary punishment, but instead indicated a great and impassable chasm by which the two are separated and their utter and unbridgeable opposition is manifested.

VIII. Likewise, it is inconsistent for a soul separated from the body—now entirely incorporeal and free from matter—to be tormented by corporeal fire, since the body, which the fire would have consumed, has already perished. Indeed, after the resurrection, when the soul will again take on an incorruptible body, and all creation will have been transformed, it will then be possible for it to be tormented with a punishment appropriate to its nature by fire, as we know, which can divide and separate. Not only the soul but also demons, who are dark and clothed in some form of material density, such as aerial or fiery bodies, according to the great Basil, will be subject to this fire. But before the soul receives its proper body, being a mere form without any admixture of matter—although it exists in itself—how could it possibly be tormented by corporeal fire?

IX. Likewise, if the souls of the saints were detained in hell solely on account of original sin until the Savior descended there, it was certainly not in fire and torment but rather in custody and imprisonment, as the Apostle Peter says in his epistle: “In which also He went and preached to the spirits in prison.” Why, then, should the souls of those who have committed minor sins in this life be possessed

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by such a hell after death, rather than requiring purgatorial fire, through which they could be released by prayers?

X. Likewise, our holy fathers—those who led lives on earth like angels—although frequently and in various ways, through visions, dreams, and other miracles, were instructed themselves and taught others about eternal punishment and the wicked sinners subjected to it, and although they foresaw these things as if present and already realized, describing them in their teachings (as, for example, the parable in the Gospel according to Luke describes the condition of the rich man and Lazarus), yet they declared nothing anywhere about a purgatorial fire that would someday come to an end.

XI. Likewise, the doctrine of the “restoration of all things” and the end of eternal punishment, which, as has been said, originated with Origen and was embraced by certain ecclesiastical men, among whom are Didymus and Evagrius—this doctrine, which purported to emphasize God’s kindness toward humanity and was very pleasing to the less discerning, as that godly author John, the Heavenly Ladder, says—was nevertheless condemned and rejected by the holy Fifth Ecumenical Council, because it encouraged laxity in the minds of people and made those who were already negligent even more careless, as they anticipated eventual liberation from torment and the promised restoration. For the same reasons, the proposed doctrine of purgatorial fire likewise seems to be something that should be eliminated by the Church, because it induces negligence even in the more diligent, persuading them not to strive with all their strength to purify themselves in this life, as they anticipate another purification after death.

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THE RESPONSE OF THE GREEKS TO THE POSITION OF THE LATINS ON THE FIRE OF PURGATORY, RECITED BY THE GREAT BESSARION OF NICAIA ON JUNE 14, 1538.

1. If, most reverend lords and fathers, the sole aim of our discussions were victory, and if our only concern were to secure triumph by any means, we would surely act neither justly nor fairly toward one another. But since we, who have undertaken such great labors and made this long and arduous journey, and you, who have expended so much effort to hold this assembly, aim at nothing else but to embrace the truth, wherever it may lie, and count that as the most desirable gain, there is great hope, with God's help, that we may conclude this matter to the satisfaction of both sides and depart in mutual agreement. This, we trust, will not only apply to the controversy presently under discussion but, perhaps, even to all others, which though they seem impossible to resolve for us, are entirely possible with God, as the sacred Scriptures proclaim. Let the concern for those matters rest with God, for He surely will not permit our efforts to be in vain. He, who among the many titles attributed to Him has not disdained to be called the "God of peace," will not

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render our discussions fruitless. Instead, as the cornerstone and bond of unity, He will join us together, making us, who are disjointed members of His body, into one single body under one head, which is Himself. Concerning the specific question now before us, we must begin our discussion with God as our guide.

2. Regarding purgatorial fire and a temporary punishment through fire that will eventually end, we have not received such teaching from our own doctors, nor do we know the Eastern Church to hold such a belief, as we have previously stated. However, we fully affirm and hold that the prayers the Church offers for the departed, as a pious act of worship to God, do benefit them in some way. We base this on the decrees of the Fathers concerning this matter. We believe and confess that the souls of the saints, untainted by sin, are granted eternal life, while those who have abused this present life, indulging in the pleasures of the flesh without regard for virtue, deserve eternal punishment. In this we agree with you, and we commend the clarity of your distinction, giving thanks to God and rejecting the false notions we previously attributed to you based on misrepresentation. However, concerning those souls who occupy a middle state between virtue and vice—having committed certain non-mortal sins due to the passions inherent in their embodied state—we disagree with the notion that they require a purgatorial fire to expiate their sins before attaining eternal glory. While we affirm that such souls do not deserve eternal punishment (a position we find entirely consistent with divine mercy), we do not accept the necessity of a purgatorial fire, as proposed in your response.

3. Thus, we must address this topic by dividing it into sections. The entire controversy can be separated into two main points, with one of these points further divided into two sub-points. First, we must consider whether God grants the remission of certain sins after death. Second, we must determine whether this remission is

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granted through punishment or purely through divine mercy and the prayers of the Church. If it is through punishment, we must then ask whether this involves some other form of purification—such as imprisonment, darkness, or ignorance—or whether it necessarily requires fire, specifically the corporeal fire you assert.

4. In addressing this final question (i.e., that souls are subjected to punishment through purgatorial fire as a means of attaining eternal life), we do not agree for several reasons. First, we have not received such a teaching from any of our doctors. Second, we fear that by introducing the concept of a temporary and purgatorial fire, we might destabilize the entire Church. Since God and our Savior declared that sinners would be cast into eternal fire, however that fire is understood, this has been the only fire recognized by the faithful. From childhood, their ears have been filled with this teaching, and it is this fire that they fear above all, shaping their actions and guiding their lives. If, however, we were now to speak of a temporary fire, there is a danger that the faithful might mistake it for eternal fire and conclude that all fire is of this kind. This could lead to the error of Origen, causing people to dismiss the thought of eternal punishment and anticipate an eventual end to their suffering. Such a view would lead to many absurdities, including widespread negligence in living rightly and an increase in sin, which would only supply material for eternal punishment. For these reasons, we have never adopted this belief, nor do we intend to do so.

5. As for the question of whether God remits sins after death for those who have committed venial sins (the first of the points under discussion), we affirm this in accordance with the teachings of the doctors, as they have explained it. Regarding the second point—whether this remission occurs through some form of punishment, such as imprisonment or darkness, or purely through God's mercy and the prayers of the Church—this is not the time to address it. We must

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instead focus on your arguments and demonstrate that the doctors of our Church make no mention of purgatorial fire in their writings. The testimonies you have presented in support of this doctrine will now be examined and, with God's help, addressed to the best of our ability.

6. As for the testimonies you have cited from the books of Maccabees and the divine Gospel according to Matthew, we will not speak at great length here, for the reasons already stated above. These are manifest to all and clearly demonstrate that forgiveness of certain sins is granted to some after death. However, whether this is through punishment, and specifically through fire, they do not in any way suggest. Indeed, that these passages do not plainly support purgatorial fire is clearer than daylight. For what connection is there between forgiveness and purification by fire and punishment? Either there is need for punishment or for forgiveness, but not for both at the same time. For "he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, neither in this age nor in the age to come," and nothing further is added. Likewise, the passage from Maccabees, which states, "it is a good and pious thing to pray for the dead, so that they may be absolved of their sins," makes no mention at all of punishment or fire expressly named; it merely exhorts us to pray to God for the dead, with the hope that their sins will be forgiven.

7. Thus, these matters are as stated. Let us now turn to that oft-repeated and widely discussed passage, and let us examine what the saying of the blessed Paul signifies, especially by relying on the interpretations and reflections of our doctors. If not, we ourselves will carefully scrutinize all that was said by the Apostle, using the sharpness of our minds to the extent possible, adhering closely to the very wording, until we can fully grasp the true intention of the divine herald. "For no one can lay a foundation other than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. If anyone builds on this foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, or straw, each one's work will

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become manifest; for the day will disclose it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each has done. If the work that anyone has built on the foundation survives, he will receive a reward. If anyone's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire" (1 Cor. 3:11–15).

8. First, we would like you to know that the blessed John, golden both in spirit and speech, devoted diligent effort to explaining the epistles of the divine herald, as well as the entirety of the Old and New Testaments. It is reported, and we gladly believe what is written in his life, that he, having no greater priority than to undertake this work, was deeply moved and even overwhelmed when he considered the loftiness of the Apostle's words, fearing greatly lest he stray from the true sense. Thus, turning to prayer, after fervently supplicating Paul to aid him in this endeavor, he at last undertook the work. It is said that Paul, partly to affirm the modesty of his intent and partly to show approval that John should serve as interpreter of his writings, appeared to him as he was seated, ready to begin the work, and whispered in his ear. This vision was also granted to Proclus, John's disciple and successor in the See of Constantinople. The circumstances were as follows: A certain nobleman, having fallen into misfortune and incurred the royal displeasure, came at night to John, intending to ask him to intercede with the king. Proclus, entering the little room to inform his master, saw a figure standing behind John, bending slightly and whispering in his ear. Suspecting someone had entered without his knowledge, Proclus turned the distressed man away, telling him to return another time. This happened for three consecutive nights. The figure did not depart but remained with John, who was now fully engaged in interpreting Paul's writings. However, whenever Proclus entered to deliver a message, he also saw the figure standing there. On the third day, John, remembering the nobleman

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(for he had known of his case and expected his visit), was surprised he had not yet come and asked Proclus the reason. Proclus replied, "He has come, and often, but every time I entered, I saw you occupied with another and feared to trouble you." John, upon hearing this and after examining the description, immediately identified the figure as bald and resembling the image of Paul, which hung there. Greatly praising God and Paul, he was filled with renewed zeal for the task and, with the help of God and Paul, brought it to completion. The extraordinary grace evident in these homilies and the exceptional elegance, splendor, and gravity of their style can only be appreciated by those who understand the language in which he wrote.

9. Returning to the matter at hand, when John came to the passage in question, interpreting it, he neither said nor thought anything like what you propose. He did not consider this phrase to refer to purgatory or temporary fire, but rather to eternal and endless damnation. He believed that Paul used the terms "wood, straw, and hay" to symbolize fuel for eternal flames, and that the "fire" refers to that everlasting fire. As for the salvation of those punished by fire, he understood it as referring to their continued existence in that fire and the perpetuity of their punishment. Lest anyone, upon hearing the word "fire," knowing also that men will take up bodies after the resurrection, and that sinners will have bodies susceptible to suffering, suspect that they will suffer only for a time, with their bodies eventually being consumed and destroyed by this fire—especially when they hear that their works will be burned—our doctor preemptively counters this notion: "This shall not be, it shall not be. For those whom this fire takes hold of, it will retain and punish eternally, without any redemption. Even if their works are consumed in the burning, they themselves will not perish but will remain intact while being punished, even while in the fire." This is how he

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interpreted the passage, and in the same way did most of the doctors, whose testimony should not be doubted.

10. If, however, you bring forward the blessed Augustine or any other of the Latin saints who have interpreted these words differently from him—believing that they refer to the fire of purgatory—we would first reply that it is entirely reasonable for the Greeks to better understand what is Greek. And you yourselves would not deny that the Greek language is better understood by those to whom it is native. If, then, what was written in Greek by the Apostle has never been understood or interpreted by anyone among those who use the Greek language as their mother tongue in any other way than as the blessed John Chrysostom has explained it, surely greater trust must be placed in them, as they are many and of such great authority. As for the Latins, we believe that they were influenced partly by the fact that their translation of Scripture lacks a word that aptly conveys and expresses the sense of the Greek term, and partly because, to avoid a greater evil, they admitted a lesser one. For, as Augustine himself states, there were those who extended this statement to all sins, believing that every sin could be expiated, to the point of asserting that even eternal punishment would have an end. Augustine, therefore, wishing to remove this opinion and utterly eradicate it from the minds of people, admitted this intermediate form of punishment, granting the idea of a temporary fire, though perhaps led to this by the weakness of the words. For the words "saved," "be saved," and "salvation" in Greek simply mean "to remain" or "to exist" in our common language. This is also demonstrated by the very meaning of the apostolic statement itself. For since it is the nature of fire to destroy and consume, and yet those who are detained in eternal punishment are not consumed (for otherwise their detention would not be eternal), they will remain, he says, existing and whole, even in the burning fire.

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11. First, then, we respond to this interpretation. Moreover, since both John Chrysostom and all the holy Greek doctors have interpreted this passage as we say, while Augustine and the Latins have interpreted it otherwise, we, standing in the middle, will revisit the apostolic statement more deeply, adhering closely to the words themselves and considering what they signify, always prioritizing the truth. This, then, is how Paul's statement is understood. "The foundation," he says, "has been laid, and now it is not permitted to lay another: for it is one and the same, Jesus Christ, in whom one must not lose faith. And this foundation remains unchanged." Up to this point, he speaks about doctrine. What follows, however, concerns the effort related to works. Addressing the faithful, he says that no one is allowed to alter the foundation of faith—specifically, faith in God incarnate—for anyone who attempts to do so must necessarily overturn the entire structure. Since works are dead without faith, and faith without works is powerless, after addressing faith, he also adds a discussion of works, speaking of those who build upon the foundation. He divides his statement into only two parts, establishing no third or middle category. Gold, silver, and precious stones represent virtues, while wood, straw, and stubble represent their opposites—namely, vices. Now, your opinion might carry some necessity if Paul had further divided vices into two categories, saying that some could be expiated while others were subject to eternal punishment. But he says nothing of the sort. Instead, after enumerating virtues, which lead to eternal life, and vices, which result in eternal punishment, he adds that each one's work will be made manifest, also stating when this will happen—the last day, when God will descend to render to each according to their merit. "For the day will make it manifest," he says, "because it will be revealed in fire." Undoubtedly, this day refers to the second coming of the Savior and the age to come, a day properly so called because, compared to the

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present life, it stands as day compared to night, as Paul also testifies elsewhere: “The night is far spent, the day is at hand.” This, then, is the day in which Christ, coming in glory, will be preceded by a river of fire, as also foretold by the prophet Daniel: “A river of fire flowed and went out from before Him.” And David likewise says: “A fire will burn before Him, and a stormy wind will encircle Him.” Peter also affirms this, saying: “The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in which the heavens will pass away with a great noise, and the elements, burning with heat, will dissolve.” And again: “Looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God, in which the heavens, being on fire, will be dissolved, and the elements will melt with fervent heat, as our beloved brother Paul also wrote to you according to the wisdom given to him.” From all this, it is clear that Paul spoke in this passage of the final day and the fire that will eternally burn against sinners. This fire, he says, will test the quality of each one’s work—illuminating one and consuming another along with its authors. All the doctors agree on this point, particularly the great Basil, who interpreted the Psalm verse, “The voice of the Lord divides the flame of fire,” in this way: “The fire prepared for the punishment of the devil and his angels is divided by the voice of the Lord, so that, with two properties in this fire—one that burns and another that illuminates—the harsh and burning force is reserved for those worthy of burning, while its brightness and radiance are destined to bring joy to those who will live a happy and blessed life. The voice of the Lord, dividing the flame of fire, thus ensures that the fire of punishment is obscure and the light of rest is devoid of the power to burn.” Thus, the twofold nature of this fire is that it embraces the just, illuminating and enlightening them, making them brighter than any gold, while it burns and eternally punishes sinners. For this reason, it is said: “The fire will test the quality of each one’s work.” Those whose works remain, being stronger than the fire or

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rather having assimilated the fire's illuminating quality, will receive their reward. But for those whose works reveal the burning nature of the fire—because they are combustible and suitable for destruction, like wood, straw, and stubble—the authors of such works will suffer loss. Yet, not in the sense that their evil works will be destroyed and consumed by the fire, but in that they themselves will remain in the fire, enduring eternal punishment.

12. First, from the fact that he does not divide sins into mortal and non-mortal but speaks simply of works as either virtues or vices; second, from his declaration of when this will occur—namely, on that final day, as also the blessed Peter affirms; and third, from his statement that the fire will encompass both the works and the workers, consuming those works that are combustible while preserving the workers unharmed and unconsumed—it is evident that the blessed Paul was not speaking of purgatorial fire (which you claim is meant to expunge minor sins, not every kind of vice entirely, and which you posit to occur before judgment for those who have committed venial or expiable sins, but not for the righteous, whose works are likened to gold and precious stones). Instead, he refers to that eternal and unending punishment in which these things will take place. Indeed, even the phrase “will suffer loss,” referring to those whose works are suited to burning, clearly signifies eternal punishment for those who are to be deprived of the participation in and splendor of the divine light, administered by the one who will judge them. This does not in any way align with those who, according to your view, are purified; for they do not suffer loss but rather gain greatly by shedding their vices and taking on purity and cleanness. Thus, we interpret this passage in this way, and it seems most likely to be true. If someone, however, interprets it differently—understanding salvation as liberation from damnation and passing through fire as a means of purification—it is certain that such an interpretation does

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not reflect the true sense of Paul's words. This is not surprising, since humans, being fallible, often interpret scriptural passages in various ways, and not all arrive at the same fullness of understanding. It is impossible for the same phrase, explained with differing interpretations, to be equally fitting for all. We ought to prioritize those interpretations which come from the most esteemed authorities and are most consistent with ecclesiastical doctrines, while setting aside others as secondary.

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means of purification—it is certain that such an interpretation does not reflect the true sense of Paul's words.

14. This is not surprising, since humans, being fallible, often interpret scriptural passages in various ways, and not all arrive at the same fullness of understanding. It is impossible for the same phrase, explained with differing interpretations, to be equally fitting for all. We ought to prioritize those interpretations which come from the most esteemed authorities and are most consistent with ecclesiastical doctrines, while setting aside others as secondary. He was, after all, a man; and it is not impossible for a human, even one who has reached the pinnacle of sanctity, to err, especially concerning matters that have not been previously examined or resolved through a council of gathered Fathers. It is evident that many can discern the truth more accurately than one individual, just as two good people are better than one. Since the question of eternal punishment had not yet been debated and settled, it seems that this man leaned toward the opinion that sinners could eventually be restored, even asserting an end to punishment in certain of his writings. He posited that this punishment was nothing other than a kind of purification, a furnace, and a drawing toward God through pain and suffering, leading ultimately to the complete restoration of all, even the demons themselves, so that, as he says, "God may be all in all," in accordance with the Apostle's words.

15. To this, we first respond with what we have received from our forefathers: that these are likely deceptive and harmful fabrications of certain heretics, followers of Origen, who flourished particularly in regions near Egypt and Palestine during those times. These heretics sought to make it seem as though they had the support of that holy and great luminary as their patron in this opinion. Secondly, we say that even if that saint [Gregory of Nyssa] truly held such an opinion, it was at a time when the doctrine was still in

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controversy and had not yet been fully resolved, as we have already stated. The contrary opinion had not yet been condemned, which occurred later at the Fifth Council. Thus, it is not surprising if, as a human, even he erred somewhat in this matter—just as happened with many others before him, including Irenaeus, bishop of the Lyonnese, and Dionysius of Alexandria, among others. For these men, too, provided some pretext for critics with their writings. That this doctrine was disputed and not yet clarified in its truth at that time is confirmed by Gregory the Theologian, who, in his discourse on Baptism, while discussing that unquenchable fire, adds: “Unless someone prefers to understand it more kindly here and in a way more fitting to the dignity of the one punishing.” You see how he leaves it open to those who wish to interpret that fire more benignly? But in the Fifth Ecumenical Council, this opinion was deemed particularly inhumane and harmful to the Church, as it fostered laxity among the faithful, and it was condemned as heretical. Even if the statements attributed to the blessed Gregory about that fire suggest purification, they do not imply a particular or temporary purification, but rather a complete and absolute restoration of all. However, we place no trust in these claims, as we align ourselves with the common judgment of the entire Church and use sacred Scripture as our rule and standard. We do not consider what any individual among them wrote in isolation. Nor is it necessary for us to embrace certain writings about purgatorial fire merely because someone expressed an opinion on the subject. Scripture does not teach a dual punishment or a dual fire, nor did the Fifth Ecumenical Council hand such a doctrine down to us.

16. But you will say that Augustine, the blessed Ambrose, and Gregory the Dialogist affirmed this openly. We acknowledge this, and it cannot be denied. However, since these were Latin writers and wrote in Latin, some of them do not explicitly establish anything about purgatorial fire but only teach that the dead benefit from

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liturgies and prayers offered on their behalf. Others, though they may speak clearly on the matter, left behind no writings of this sort—at least none that we have read to this day, aside from Augustine's book *On the Trinity* and Gregory's *Dialogues*, both of which have only recently been translated from Latin into Greek. What wonder is it, then, that we are ignorant of what we have never seen, read, or heard? Indeed, our own people and all those who used the Greek language left nothing whatsoever written about these matters. As for what the Latins wrote, these are wholly unintelligible to us Greeks. Yet even the statements of these Fathers may be interpreted in a more moderate sense—and rightly so. From the writings of both Augustine and Gregory the Dialogist, it is clear that neither they nor others who spoke of this matter intended to establish it as a doctrine by their own authority or to assert it as definitively true. Rather, as one might say, they were compelled or constrained by circumstances and limited reasoning, forced to accept a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater one. This was the belief, held by some, that all sin could be expiated. Believing it a violent thing to contradict the many who held this view, and fearing that their opposition might seem implausible if they denied outright that any sin could be forgiven, they took a middle path, accepting the lesser evil to make their position more reasonable and avoid the greater evil. Yet we should not firmly adhere to what some have said in conformity to the times. Even if they had definitively declared such beliefs, it would still not be necessary for us to follow them or acquiesce to their views. If they argue from the words of Paul, interpreting them as referring to some temporary fire (although we have already explained what Paul meant, demonstrating from John Chrysostom and the context of the passage that his words differ completely from the interpretation of the Western Church Fathers), how can we readily accept a doctrine that originates from a

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mistaken premise and proceeds from it to conclusions contrary to our understanding?

17. But you claim that the blessed Gregory, in the fourth book of his *Dialogues*, demonstrated purgatory with many examples and revelations. Indeed, he does establish purgatory after death, before the final judgment—whether he understood it allegorically or truly believed it. However, the testimonies he adduces from Scripture to support and confirm this idea carry no compelling necessity, as we have said before. As for the narratives and revelations he recounts, they do not establish any defined purgatorial fire in a specific location. For instance, he speaks of some of the purified being sent to baths to serve those bathing, and others appearing through revelation as burned in various places. All these seem to be private miracles and revelations granted by God to lead the living to repentance and conversion. But they do not prove the existence of a universal purgatorial fire. In fact, what Gregory later adds undermines such a doctrine altogether. He states that slight or trivial sins in the righteous are either purged in this life through the compensations of other good works, cleansed at the moment of death through fear alone, or, after death, through alms and sacrifices offered on their behalf.

18. When you also argue from the authority of the Roman Church—this being your fifth argument, which we have deferred until now—you must know this: If both parties among us were so inclined as to consider whatever prevails in individual churches as binding and firm, it would never have been possible for us to convene together or hold this colloquium. Rather, the primary and greatest reason for our gathering was to set aside all presumption and custom unsupported by reason, and to judge matters in their bare essence, comparing them with the sacred Scriptures and the declarations of the doctors, using these as rules and norms by which to weigh them. For if we do not proceed in this manner but judge matters based on

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custom, both sides will easily dismiss anything, and we will never come to agreement. Thus, neither from this, nor from any of the other statements presented, can your opinion be necessarily proven.

19. Finally, when you rely on reasoning to address the question at hand, drawing arguments from the justice of God, it is necessary for you to understand that we too can easily employ reasoning to confirm our position and even infer conclusions contrary to yours—whether we argue from God's kindness toward humanity, the necessity of different abodes in His kingdom, or the varying degrees of divine enjoyment. Indeed, the inequality of this enjoyment requires that not all are purified to the same degree, as well as other numerous arguments, which we will provide in due course if needed. For now, we shall conclude after briefly presenting a few points:

I. We assert that it is more consistent with divine goodness not to overlook a small good than to consider a small sin worthy of punishment. But a small good in those who have committed grave sins does not lead to any reward because of the overriding wickedness. Therefore, neither should a small sin in those who have performed many good works merit punishment, since the greater deeds outweigh it. If, indeed, the greater aspect is ineffective, how much more the lesser? Thus, purgatorial fire should not be believed in.

II. Furthermore, as a small good in those otherwise wicked has no power to effect a reward for good deeds but only to lessen punishment, so also a small sin in those otherwise righteous cannot result in condemnation but only a difference in enjoyment. Therefore, purgatorial fire is not to be assumed.

III. Additionally, the equity of eternal punishment is chiefly demonstrated by the immutable will of those who sin—a perpetual desire to sin warrants perpetual punishment. By the same reasoning, the contrary conclusion holds: If one who perpetually sins is perpetually punished, then one who is not punished perpetually must

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not have an immutable will. For if such a person had an immutable will, then if it were toward sin, they would deserve eternal punishment; if toward good, why would they need punishment at all? But since you claim that those being purified by this fire also have an immutable will, there is no need for them to be purified by fire.

IV. Moreover, if the perfect reward for those pure in heart and soul is to see God—and not all attain this equally—then the purification of all cannot be uniform. There would be no need for purgatorial fire if purification is incomplete in some; otherwise, all would be equally purified by the same fire and equally prepared to see God. This was figuratively shown on the mountain where the law was given. For it is clear that not all were of the same status or order, but each according to their degree and manner of purification, as Gregory the Theologian affirms.

V. Furthermore, the great saint Gregory the Theologian, speaking contemplatively and anagogically about Easter, explicitly and clearly states, "We shall carry nothing away, nor leave anything for the morrow," thereby asserting that no purification exists beyond this present life. By "the present night," he means the life of each individual, and he allows no purification after it.

VI. In addition, in his discourse on the plague of hail, Gregory states, "I omit speaking of the torments there, to which indulgence in this life delivers one, for it is better to be chastised and purified now than to be handed over to that torment when it will be a time of punishment, not purification." This plainly teaches that no purification exists after departing this life, but only eternal punishment.

VII. Likewise, our Lord in the Gospel of Luke, describing the fate of the rich man and Lazarus, says that Lazarus, upon dying, was immediately carried by angels to the bosom of Abraham, while the rich man, upon dying, was buried, and his soul was found in Hades,

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suffering torment. Thus, by representing the bosom of Abraham as the supreme state of the blessed, and Hades as the extreme condemnation and eternal punishment of the wicked, He left no intermediate place for temporary punishment, but established a great and impassable chasm separating the two—an absolute contrast with no middle ground.

VIII. Moreover, it is inconsistent to think that a soul, once departed from the body and entirely incorporeal, could be punished by material fire, especially since its body, which the fire would have touched, has already perished. After the resurrection, when the soul regains its incorruptible body and all creation is transformed, as we are taught, the punishment by fire will then be suitable to its state—not only to the soul but also to demons, who are material and possess a certain density and aerial or fiery bodies, as the great Basil teaches. But before the soul regains its body, being a form without matter, how can it be punished by material fire?

IX. Furthermore, our holy fathers, who lived lives on earth equal to those of angels, frequently and diversely spoke through visions, dreams, and other miracles of the eternal punishment in which the wicked and sinners are tormented. They instructed themselves and others, describing it as if it were already present and observed. Yet, in all this, they made no declaration of a temporary purgatorial fire, as also evidenced by the parable of the rich man and Lazarus in the Gospel of Luke.

X. Finally, the doctrine of universal restoration and the end of eternal punishment—originating with Origen and later supported by certain churchmen such as Didymus and Evagrius, who appealed to God's kindness toward humanity and were embraced by the idle as encouraging slackness—was nevertheless rejected and condemned by the holy Fifth Ecumenical Council. This doctrine was deemed as fostering negligence among souls and leading them to expect eventual

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deliverance from torment and promised restoration. For these reasons, the proposed doctrine of purgatorial fire must also be eradicated from the Church, as it instills negligence in the diligent and persuades them not to strive with all their might to purify themselves in this life, when no purification beyond it is to be expected.

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THE RESPONSE OF THE LATINS TO THE BOOKLET BY GRAPHISLUS CONCERNING THE FIRE OF PURGATORY.

1. We give the greatest thanks to Almighty God, that we have gained some fruit from the care and diligence jointly undertaken: for from your response, our hope has grown so much that we not only do not doubt that we will come to an agreement about the matters we are now debating, but also about the rest, with the help of Christ. Behold, for you, as can be seen from your responses, profess with the greatest faith, and affirm that the prayers of the living and the intercessions of the Church benefit those who have not left the world so completely that they immediately deserve to be received into heaven, nor have lived so wickedly that they are condemned to eternal fire, but are rather placed in between, those ensnared by the stains of sin, waiting for the aid of the prayers of the living. Moreover, concerning the intermediate state of such people, we are in mutual disagreement. For indeed, you labor with the greatest zeal to overturn our opinion and affirm your own, something that perhaps someone might say you are doing excessively, especially since at the very beginning, you declared that you had come together not to win, but

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only to seek the truth, with diligent investigation, asserting that it is not fitting to assent to any presumption or custom from which prejudice might arise, but that the bare matters should be weighed and compared with the sacred Scriptures and the teachings of the learned. Also, you say that you have neither ever professed nor will profess the doctrine of purgatorial fire, clearly contradicting your earlier assertion, where you declared that no presumption or custom should be followed, but only truth should be obeyed. Therefore, we must earnestly pray to God that the truth itself may prevail and triumph, with all wicked passions utterly repelled; for in this way, the light of truth shines more clearly for us, and through suitable instruments, it may speak today that which contributes to the glory of God and the benefit of the Catholic Church.

2. Having said these things in the preface, let us proceed with discussing your response. You have divided it into four parts. And first, with respect to souls migrating from here and distributed into three orders, on the two extremes, you seem partially to agree with us. However, since we have come together for the sake of the holy union, in order for it to be fully realized, we consider that any differences should be brought openly and plainly into the open, so that, with God's favor, all discord may be wiped out and thoroughly eradicated. Therefore, since you have not exposed the matters pertaining to the two extremes with sufficient clarity, we ask and pray that you clearly indicate, as we have previously requested, what you believe regarding the souls of the saints, free of all stain, whom you consider worthy of eternal life; whether they are immediately taken into heaven after their migration from here? Also, what do you think about the wicked, who have died with mortal sins? Do their souls immediately descend into Tartarus to be punished forever, or do they, along with the saints, await the final judgment and the resurrection of all? Regarding those in the middle order, on the manner in which their souls are freed (for

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we are in disagreement on this matter), since you have said nothing clear about it, we wish to learn what you think regarding these souls, which you say are not condemned to eternal punishment: do they first undergo some form of punishment, and if so, what kind? Is it merely the delay of divine vision, or some sensible punishment? And how will they endure it? Is it through torment, and what kind? Is it through imprisonment, darkness, or ignorance? And if through ignorance, what kind, or of what things? And after they have been purified or freed, will they immediately ascend to heaven, as is said of the first group? In the second part of your response, you assert that souls of the intermediate group will not undergo the punishment of purgatorial fire, denying that any saintly doctor has handed down this teaching. In the third part, you respond to the testimonies of saints whom we have brought forward as trustworthy witnesses to this truth. Finally, in the fourth part, you present arguments and reasons in an attempt to prove your opinion. To all of these things, with the help of Jesus Christ, the first and greatest truth, for which we dispute, we will respond in order.

3. Regarding the first part, accepting your explanation, we proceed to the second, where you say that you deny the punishment of purgatorial fire because you fear that if this fire is believed by Christians, Origen's opinion about the restoration of all things will gain ground, and from there, the corruption of morals and the sloth of life will arise, with the faithful believing that the fire, which is prepared for the devil, his angels, and reprobate men, will eventually be shared by them. First, it seems wonderful to us that you fear in vain, "where there was indeed no fear at all," such that you make such an opinion, opposing the tradition of saints, by contradicting views so correct and necessary, as well as the most ancient practice of the Catholic Church. But surely, you wise, strong, and learned men should not have been afraid; rather, you should have reflected, as the

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holy Fathers, who had received such a doctrine about purgatorial fire from divine Scripture, would not have so openly handed it down if they had thought anything harmful could arise from it, for they would have always provided for the beauty of the Lord and the benefits of the Churches. For indeed, they taught that this temporary fire would not be rejected as eternal but reserved for the purification of those who had committed light stains of sin, but for the eternal punishment of the wicked who die with mortal sins. And this would not stain the Church, as it is clear that the Roman Church, which has continually held this doctrine. Origen's impious opinion about the restoration of all things has always been rejected, which is completely unknown to many Western Churches. Those who believe in purgatorial fire are not rendered more slothful but rather more diligent, as it becomes clearer with the rising sun: for those who more diligently engage in purification, when they hear and piously believe that there is a purgatorial fire after death, which, though not eternal, is exceedingly painful, surpassing all temporal punishments we have ever endured, as Augustine says, they fear it much more than if they thought they would remain in some unknown place unpunished, for from such a belief, they would become more sluggish. Thus, the fear of hell terrifies the wicked. The recollection of purgatorial fire, on the other hand, urges the good to more intense vigilance, which is exactly the opposite of what you claim. For if the holy Fathers had been silent for fear of any kind, many things, truly beneficial, would have remained silent, which are now publicly proclaimed in all the Churches, and no saint, whether by writing or voice, would have taught anything through fear, since there were always some who contradicted them. Therefore, from this doctrine of purgatorial fire, the living gain great benefit, both by more diligently attending to works of piety, and by offering the holy sacrifice of the Mass and alms and prayers to appease God, not only for themselves but also for the

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departed. Indeed, this sacred custom is pursued not only by the Latins but also by the Greeks with the greatest devotion.

4. Since you have asserted in your objection that this doctrine has not been handed down by any of the learned, we declare that it is clear to everyone that it is proven through the words of the great Basil, who, in his prayers, asks God to grant that the souls of the deceased may be transferred to a place of refreshment. By this statement, he indicates that the punishment, which is carried out through fire, torments those souls, which, as though transitioning from burning to refreshment, he implores God to alleviate. Likewise, Gregory of Nyssa, that remarkable man and one of the most distinguished doctors, when introducing the holy Macrina speaking, clearly taught the doctrine of purgatory fire, and also in his book about the dead, testified that there is purgatorial fire, as we have previously said. However, in responding, you affirm that he, as a man, could have erred, and this seemed very offensive to us. For Peter, Paul, and the other apostles, as well as the four evangelists, were also men, and likewise Athanasius, Basil, Ambrose, Hilary, and all those who excelled in the Church were men and could have fallen into error. Do you then consider how your response ultimately unfolds? With this reasoning, the entire faith and all the Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments, are thrown into doubt, as they were handed down to us by men who could have erred. What then remains firm in sacred Scripture? What will we consider valid? We admit that a man can be wrong, as far as he acts according to his own nature and effort. However, when he is guided by the divine Spirit and confirmed by the judgment of the Church in matters concerning the truth of doctrine, whatever he writes, we consider most certainly true. Therefore, we cannot casually or recklessly accept such a thing from such a man, especially since he was a brother of the great Basil and of the blessed Macrina, and a close companion of Gregory the Theologian. Who

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would think that he could fall into such an error under the guidance of these great men? Moreover, we add that the Fifth Synod, which was primarily assembled against the followers of Origen, condemned Origen's doctrine as dangerous and harmful, and in doing so, confirmed the works of those who opposed him, so that any suspicion of Origen's works being corrupted is far removed from the most wise man. For if Origen's opinions had been accepted by the Synod, they would certainly have rejected them. Therefore, it remains that he, who professes eternal fire, understood purgatory in the way that is clearly shown in his books, both Catechetical and on the infants who die prematurely. Indeed, his works, after the burning of Origen's books, have been preserved intact and highly esteemed, which would not have happened had he written such things as you claim. What you assert about Origen's followers corrupting his works is unreasonable. If this had happened, it would have occurred after the Fifth Synod, when the opinion had already been cast out by the Church. It is evident that, if such things were written, they could not have remained hidden from the Synod. If the Synod had known about them, they would surely have condemned them. If his books were later corrupted, there arises a serious suspicion that it was done by others for some other reason. For in these books, where he clearly speaks of purgatory fire, in the same way we believe, do you think those who deny such fire would insert this doctrine into his works in order to stir up arguments? But enough of Nyssa.

5. What then shall we say about the doctors of the Latin Church, whose views on such fire you cannot claim to be unaware of, particularly since you cannot fail to know that the truly outstanding doctor, Saint Augustine, has written about this issue, especially since he has been highly praised by numerous general councils and his works on the truths of the faith have always been honored with equal praise? Therefore, it is not credible that you could be unaware of what

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he has taught on this matter, as his views have long been known to both Greeks and Latins alike. Since this doctrine is ancient and widely spread throughout the world, the holy Fathers would not have sustained it if they thought it would bring any harm to the Church. Indeed, the Roman Church, taught by the apostles and built upon the rock, has always kept the middle path, not swerving to the left or right, and has passed through all the storms and tempests of heresies unharmed: for she clearly distinguished persons in the Trinity against Sabellius so as to avoid the error of Arius, and professed the same essence of the three persons; similarly, in the dispensation of the Savior, she distinguished natures against Eutyches so as not to divide the persons with Nestorius. Likewise, regarding the state of souls after death, she professes that some temporal purgatorial punishments are to be inflicted only upon those who have died in charity and grace without mortal sin, so that, with Origen, she does not say that all sins are to be purged. What then shall we say about Saint Gregory of Old Rome, whose *Dialogues* book was translated into Greek by Zacharias, the bishop of the Roman Church, even before this schism? Indeed, in this work, the holy father clearly discusses purgatory fire, so that it cannot be the case that this doctrine is hidden or entirely unknown to you. Having clearly shown this, we may conclude that it is certainly not fitting to further examine or question such a well-established and ancient doctrine, which has flourished in the Catholic Church for so many centuries. Otherwise, the faith of the Church would be perpetually shaken, and it would fall into the greatest error, always uncertain and in doubt. Therefore, it is necessary to hold firmly to whatever doctrine has been received from the masters, both through revelations and by arguments consistent with reason.

6. Since you have asserted that the passages we presented from the Maccabees and from the Gospel according to Matthew signify not a purgatorial punishment, but rather a release and

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absolution from sins, we declare that there are two things to be considered in every sin: namely, the guilt, which is the stain adhering to the soul after the insult inflicted upon the Creator, and the penalty itself, which makes a person liable to some form of punishment. God indeed forgives the guilt, through prior contrition and detestation of evil; however, the penalty must be paid or undone. In your response, when you speak of the remission of sin, it is not made clear from which aspect both remission and absolution of sin should be understood. For when the soul is freed from the bonds of the body, it can no longer detest evil or repent; from this, it follows that neither prayers, nor supplications, nor any help from the living can be of benefit to those who have passed away, as sacred Scripture says: "The death of sinners is most grievous." Therefore, that mitigation or remission which you think of must clearly be understood in terms of punishment. And indeed, this is how the matter stands, as we have learned from sacred Scripture. For it is written in Deuteronomy: "According to the measure of sin, so is the measure of punishment." And in the second book of Kings, when David had said to Nathan, "I have sinned against the Lord," Nathan responded: "The Lord also has put away your sin; you shall not die. However, because you have blasphemed against the Lord, the son who is born to you shall die." Here, it is clearly shown that the penalty immediately follows upon the guilt committed. Therefore, when the remission of mortal sin, which comes from a contrite heart through the prayers and other suffrages of the Church, is understood not in terms of guilt, but in terms of penalty, you cannot deny that the souls, before they are freed from sin through prayers and other pious works, are liable to certain punishments and torments. Although these may be suitably varied in different ways, as Gregory the Great explains in his Dialogues, in accordance with the divine plan of justice, this purging is most fittingly accomplished through the temporary, bodily fire, which we

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understand to be the means of purging, as we have received it from the teachings of the Church and the revelations given to men of God. This purging, being effected through such fiery substance, is most appropriate, for fire itself seems to be both the most suitable for torment and for purging.

7. After this, we now proceed to the third part of your response, in which many things are mentioned about the admirable dignity, doctrine, and holiness of the blessed John Chrysostom. You then suggest that the Latin doctors' ignorance of the Greek language was the reason why the apostles' teaching was not properly understood, and you say that, to avoid greater danger, they were unwilling to choose more carefully. Then, through the structure of wood, hay, and stubble, you claim that not venial sins are meant, but rather a certain heap of mortal sins; and by the term "salvation," you assert that not salvation, but a certain dwelling place or endurance in fire is indicated. Finally, you assert that the "day" mentioned by the Apostle of the nations, as he says, "For the day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire," refers only to the last day of eternal punishment. With God's help, we will respond to each point in turn.

8. First, we say that it is dangerous and otherwise distasteful to compare the greatness of the saints, for their dignity and excellence are fully known to the one Creator alone. However, since you have compelled us, we proceed with great reluctance to such a comparison. You assert that Saint John was particularly eminent in searching out and interpreting the apostolic teaching, and that this is confirmed by the vision shown to him in battle. We certainly hold that remarkable man in the highest esteem and reverence, and we praise his fame and clear teaching, due to his many virtues, which we greatly admire. But when it comes to defending the truth, not flattering favor, we believe that Saint Augustine can in no way be considered inferior to Saint John, and in some respects, even greater. His supreme authority is

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shown, among other ways, by the testimony of Celestine to the Third Synod, as he writes in a letter to all the bishops of Gaul: "We have always held Augustine, the man of blessed memory, in our communion for his life and merits, and no rumor of suspicion has ever been cast upon him. We remember that he was of such great learning that he was always considered among the best masters, even by my predecessors. Therefore, all have agreed in their common opinion that he was both loved and honored everywhere." Augustine was invited to the Ephesine Synod by the command of Emperor Theodosius, as stated in the letter of Bishop Capreolus inserted in the Acts of the Third Synod; and the imperial rescript found that he had already passed away. Indeed, in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Synods, his authority was highly regarded, and there is no need to say more, for it is evident to all. But you are not unaware of the strength and extraordinary authority of Saint Gregory, bishop of Rome. When certain detractors sought to burn his books after his death, Peter, the deacon of that great man, who discusses the matter in his Dialogues, stepped forward to show that the proposal was utterly absurd and improper. He declared that he had often seen a dove, or rather the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, over Gregory's head while he was writing. To confirm this, he said, "I speak the truth, and if I read the Gospel and immediately pass away, you will know that my words were true." He went up to the pulpit, recited the Gospel, and immediately passed away to the Lord, and thus the malice of the wicked ceased. Nor are we without more recent miracles. Indeed, when the blessed Thomas, while near death, was explaining Paul's letters, Paul appeared to him, affirming that the true sense of his letters had been understood, and encouraging him to continue his work, for he himself would soon lead him to a place where he would see all things clearly; thus, he exchanged life for death. We have said this so that you may clearly understand that the vision of Proclus concerning the

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blessed John Chrysostom does not create any difficulty for us or our predecessors, who have always been highly esteemed and who have explained that apostolic saying in the same way as we have.

9. Since you have asserted that both the great Augustine and the other Latin doctors, because they were not skilled in the Greek language and lacked the specific Latin words to translate the Greek texts, therefore used this interpretation, we respond by stating that almost all of our doctors learned the Greek language, as is certainly evident from their writings. Indeed, blessed Augustine in many places in his books, while interpreting the divine scriptures, presents the text as it is found in Greek, using Greek letters, and explains it accordingly. In his book *Confessions*, he says that when he was still a boy, he had struggled greatly in learning Homer, just as Greek boys struggle in learning Virgil because of the difficulty of the foreign language. Saint Gregory, in a letter sent to Narses, a certain patrician in Constantinople, almost says the following: "Therefore, your charity should seek out the old manuscript of the same synod and send it to me. As soon as I read it, I will send it back." Therefore, it cannot be supposed, much less is it right to say, that they did not understand certain very simple words, and for this reason were unfit to compare them with the Greek text in order to draw the true meaning, should any ambiguity arise in the Latin books. If you recall how much effort the ancient Romans devoted to learning the Greek language, and how many of their descendants, even many in our own time, you will certainly stop attributing ignorance to them. For the writings of the Greeks were held in such high esteem among them that they would never have considered themselves experts in their native language if they were ignorant of Greek, which is the source from which the Latin language flowed. Indeed, they devoted great effort to translating anything, whether sacred or secular, from Greek works that seemed

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more established into their own language, a practice that is still followed today by many.

10. As for what you say, that our doctors, to avoid greater harm, permitted less, this should by no means be accepted, and we wish you had not said such things or held such a low opinion of such great lights of the Church, as if they could neither prevent nor know how to restrain any error, without falling into another error themselves. So powerful was their commitment to philosophy that they considered it utterly unlawful to lie under any circumstances, for no reason. To make this clearer, the great Augustine wrote a book titled *On Lying*, and another against lying, in which he declares that no Christian may lie in any way whatsoever. He divided lying into eight categories, the first and most pernicious being that which concerns the truth of doctrine and piety. This lie, he says, should never be told to anyone, and he declares it to be utterly disgraceful, detestable, and a great sin. He also openly declared that it is no less a crime to speak falsely about God, even if it serves to praise Him, than it is to conceal the truth about Him. In interpreting the Epistle to the Galatians, he wrote this statement: "If at any time something false, under the pretense of dispensation, were permitted by the Church, the way would be open for lies, and the whole of divine Scripture would be endangered, and its authority would be shaken." But this has already been addressed above. Nor should it be surprising that, when discussing the purgatorial fire, he said that some have misunderstood the Apostle's words. For he did not refer to the whole Church nor to a heresy that held such a view, but rather to certain private individuals, whose minds he wished to correct, and he spoke these things before the people. Therefore, to hold such views about these most holy men is neither fair nor proper, and we ask that you abandon this opinion, for it is neither becoming nor safe, and that you show due reverence to the saints.

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11. Let us now turn to the exposition of the Apostle's words. First, we will say a few things about the blessed John Chrysostom, whom you claim held the opinion that the Apostle's saying: "No one can lay another foundation" and so on, should be understood as referring to the damned and to eternal fire. To this, we respond that divine Scripture contains many meanings. For example, to omit many other things, the words "lion" and "rock" are often used to refer to Christ. Thus, we also read in the Apocalypse of John: "The lion of the tribe of Judah has triumphed," which everyone agrees refers to Christ. And the Apostle says: "They drank from the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ." However, we find that the same words are not only used for Christ, but also applied to others, entirely in contrast. Therefore, this doctor, while perhaps considering the multiple meanings of Scripture, focused on the one which seemed most fitting to the context of the passage. This sense, as stated by Augustine and Gregory, does not contradict the idea that Chrysostom may have believed that it referred to the final fate of the wicked and their punishment, whereas others applied it to the intermediate state of the dead. Let us now examine, as best we can, the Apostle's teaching, giving the appropriate honor to the saints.

12. Therefore, the Apostle says: "No one can lay another foundation besides that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if anyone builds on this foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw, each person's work will become manifest; for the day of the Lord will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each one has done. If anyone's work remains that he has built on it, he will receive a reward; if anyone's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire." In this passage, the Apostle speaks of the foundation, the building, the burning, and salvation. He says, "The foundation of all these things is Christ," and on this foundation no

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infidel can build. For Christ exists as a foundation only through faith; and when an unbeliever does not embrace this faith, not only does he not use this foundation to build, but he destroys it through his own opinion. Furthermore, "What fellowship has light with darkness?" For while he decides to profess other principles completely contrary to the evangelical profession, he does not adhere to this foundation, but to another foundation entirely different. From this, it follows that neither Christ is in him, nor he in Christ. Also, he does not use this foundation who departs from life in mortal sin, since his works are already dead and destroyed. Indeed, this living foundation admits only a living building, as the blessed Apostle Peter testifies when he says: "And you, like living stones, are being built up." Moreover, although faith is absolutely required in such a structure, it must be the kind of faith that is informed by charity, otherwise even demons would build upon this foundation. For as James says: "They believe and tremble." Therefore, the faith, which is the beginning of our whole spiritual building, must be joined to charity, which expels mortal sins in such a way that it does not allow them, whatever they may be. Thus, no one builds upon this foundation. The very nature of the language shows this; for mortal sins are more aptly compared to lead and stone, both because they are heavy and because they are not purged by fire. However, venial sins are more suitably represented by wood, hay, and straw, because they are light and easily washed away by fire. Therefore, Gregory the Great, interpreting this passage in the fourth book of his *Dialogues*, adds: "It must be carefully considered, because he said that the person will be saved through fire, not one who builds upon this foundation with iron, brass, or lead—that is, with the more serious sins, and thus harder, and at that time unsolvable—but with wood, hay, and straw, that is, with lesser and lighter sins, which fire easily consumes." From all of this, it is clear that by wood, hay, and straw, both from the nature of the language and

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from the context of the Apostle's mind, venial sins are understood. Augustine also explains this saying of the Apostle: "The foundation, he says, is Christ Jesus. Moreover, if the faith of Christ, that faith which works through love, were not to be called a foundation, then it would not be through it that Christ dwells in us, as the Apostle says to the Ephesians: 'Christ dwells in your hearts through faith.' Therefore, nothing in the building is above the foundation; if by wood, hay, and straw we understand most grievous sins, then Christ will not be the foundation, but something else will be placed above him." The same Augustine, in book XXI of *The City of God*, says: "Whoever has Christ in his heart, so that he does not place anything earthly or temporal, nor what is lawful and permitted, above Him, has Christ as his foundation. But if he places anything above Him, even if he seems to have the faith of Christ, yet he does not have Christ as his foundation, to whom such things are placed above."

13. As for the Apostle's saying, "For the day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire," you assert that this should be understood as referring to the final judgment day. But this does not help your argument at all. For although we concede that the Apostle was speaking about the future eternal judgment, it does not follow from this that he was discussing mortal sins or that, therefore, it must be concluded that souls cannot be purified after this life. Indeed, we understand that this day refers not only to the universal judgment, but to each individual's day of death. Just as the day of judgment is called the "day of the Lord," because it is the day of His coming to judge the world, so too the day of death is called the "day of the Lord," because in death Christ comes to each person either to reward or to condemn. Therefore, concerning the reward of the just, the Gospel according to John says to His disciples: "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and will take you to myself, that where I am you may be also." Concerning the condemnation of the wicked, it is

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written in the Apocalypse: "Repent, and do the works you did at first; otherwise, I will come to you and remove your lampstand." That fiery river, of which the prophet Daniel foretold, will not only carry away the wicked to eternal punishment, but also purify the just, if it finds anything in them to be purified, and will make them spotless. Therefore, this day signifies the eternal and everlasting fire, which we can rightly understand as referring to the final judgment day. There is also another day, which signifies the temporary fire destined for lighter sins, which is properly called the "day of the Lord," because it precedes the general day, whose judgment depends on it.

14. It remains for us to briefly discuss the word "salvation" in the Apostle's saying. For when you say the words *salvus erit, salvari, salus*, in the Greek language, they always signify some kind of permanence or existence, we fear that we may seem to be acting unpleasantly if, as Latins, we assert that you did not use these terms correctly. For indeed, nowhere in Divine Scripture can these words be found except when referring to something good or to salvation. And not to digress too far, in the same letter, Paul speaks: "For the word of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to those who are being saved, that is, to us, it is the power of God." And again: "I have already judged to deliver such a man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, so that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Again: "I have become all things to all people, that by all means I might save some." The holy Luke, who wrote the Acts of the Apostles, reports: "What must I do to be saved?" He replied: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and you will be saved, you and your household." Now, if this were really the Apostle's intention, that they would be preserved in the fire, not to be consumed, he would have used a very clear word in the abundant Greek language, and would have said either "it will remain," or "it will endure," or "it will be kept," or "it will be preserved," or any other word more appropriate to

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remove any ambiguity, if there were any in the word, even though in fact there is none. For where can one find the word for salvation used in Scripture to signify something other than salvation? Paul, when he carefully spoke in his sermons with a clear and simple language, despite being full of mysteries, would not have used an ambiguous term if he had understood it the way you say. Therefore, since your explanation does not correspond to either the Apostle's meaning or the meaning of the word, it is clearly evident that the interpretation we have presented is the true one. With this explanation from our scholars, the preposition fits very well, because it signifies a certain transition, not permanence. For if the Apostle's intention had been to use the word "salvus erit" to mean "it will be preserved" or "it will remain," he would certainly have said: "He himself will be saved, but only as through fire." But when he says, "He will be saved as through fire," he clearly shows that a transition takes place through the fire of punishment to the place of salvation.

15. Then you say that the word *detrimentum* (loss) does not fit those who are purified, as they are not harmed but rather gain something great, and therefore only the wicked are meant to be referred to. We strongly disagree with your interpretation. For according to our view, those who are purified certainly suffer loss, as the Apostle says, when they are punished with the sharpest penalty, which, as we said above, according to Saint Augustine, is the most bitter, and such that no other penalty in this life can compare to it. Just as through the bitterness of remedies we come to the sweetness of health, so also the just, through the bitterness of purification, attain the fruit of eternal salvation, as they can say with the psalmist: "We went through fire and water, and you brought us out to a place of refreshment." Therefore, after the Apostle says that such a person is to be punished with purification, he immediately adds the saving gain, saying: "Yet so, as through fire." Thus, these two—being punished

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with repeated penalties and gaining much from it—fit very well together.

16. Now, when we bring up the authority of the Roman Church, we did not refer to the custom of just any church: for all have always followed it with reverence and honor, as it was taught by the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, those foundations and lights of our faith, as well as by other most holy pontiffs, whom God showed to have lived saintly lives by many miracles. Indeed, from the very beginning, this faith has been continuously and unshakably preached and taught to this very day. This is what should most compel and move you, since your fathers, before the present schism arose, never contradicted our view, as is clearly established, but, as we may say in summary, they completely agreed with us. Moreover, the Roman Church, as the head, mother, and teacher of all other churches, has always been honored, as testified by Saint Maximus in his letter to the Easterns, when he says: "All the ends of the earth, who sincerely confess the Lord and live in the Catholic and Apostolic faith, look to the Roman Church as to the sun, from which they receive the light of the Catholic and Apostolic faith." Indeed, this is not without reason: for Peter, the first of all, confessed the true faith revealed to him by the Father, saying: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God." But for now, let us stop here.

17. To our argument, which is based on the reasoning of divine justice, you have responded with nothing at all. Rather, you have assembled numerous arguments as though in opposition. We certainly could have selected many points relevant to the issue, had not our desire for brevity restrained us. Therefore, content with a single argument, we have disputed no further; for the foundation of our faith does not rest on the reasonings which are the product of human intellect, but on the rock of divine Scripture and on the holy mountains, that is, on the precepts of the holy Fathers, whom the

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Catholic Church has embraced as the bride embraces the friends of the bridegroom and the heralds of truth. Now, let us turn to your actual arguments.

I. You say first: "It seems more fitting for divine goodness not to disdain a small good, than to punish a small sin. But a small good in those who have sinned more gravely brings no reward due to the overpowering wickedness. Nor, therefore, is it fitting for a small evil in those who have done much good to be punished, because the greater virtues prevail. For if what appears to be greater is not, then what appears to be lesser will certainly be hard to endure. Therefore, the fire of purgatory should not be believed to exist." Solution. In response, we say that the greater truth upon which your argument is based pertains when the small good remains intact, which does not happen if it is lost due to fault, as it happens to all those who fall into mortal sin. For indeed, mortal sin destroys all the good that had previously been done. Certainly, when a sinner offends God by sin, they deserve to lose all the good they have received. Therefore, for a person dying in mortal sin, no reward remains after this life for whatever good they may have done. Hence the Lord says through the prophet Ezekiel: "If the righteous turns from his righteousness and commits iniquity, all his righteousness will not be remembered." The same holds true in human law, and it seems reasonable that a soldier, although highly esteemed for many good deeds done for the king, if later he gravely offends the king, will lose all his merits and will be punished harshly. However, this is not the case for a small sin, that is, a venial fault, or the guilt of punishment in those who have passed away in charity, because charity also works in them; it does not entirely erase these lighter faults, but only the mortal sin opposed to it, by which one is deprived of the life that charity bestows. By setting this distinction, the premise you introduced does not hold. We can also respond to your reasoning by denying it, namely that small goods in those who

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are otherwise wicked do not deserve reward, if by reward you mean mitigation of punishment. For if someone descends to hell despite some pious deeds, they will be punished more lightly than one who is sentenced to eternal punishment without those deeds, a benefit that seems to be provided by those small acts well done.

II. You say secondly: "Just as a small good in those who are otherwise wicked does not affect the reward of the righteous, but only the difference of punishment, so too, a small evil in those who are otherwise good will not bring damnation, but only the difference of enjoyment. Therefore, it should not be believed that purgatorial fire exists." Solution. Although it seems we have already responded above, it is worth noting that the matter is not as universally applicable as your major premise assumes. The reasoning for small good in one who departs with mortal sin is not the same as for small evil in one who departs with charity. Indeed, when mortal sin causes destruction, no reward for eternal life or mitigation of eternal punishment is to be expected; however, in the case of the just, due to the perfection of heavenly bliss and the purity of the good to be seen, before all else they must be purified. For no one will behold that immutable good at any degree of vision unless they have a pure mind, untouched by any evil, in which no malice may exist at all. And truly, while small goods in those who are otherwise wicked bring some difference in punishment, small evils in those who are just do not regularly affect their enjoyment, first because it happens that one departs this life with a greater number of minor defects than another, but with a stronger charity, for whose greatness the degrees of enjoyment are distributed; secondly, because it can happen that one who is altogether better, due to greater punishment, departs this life. Therefore, it is clear that small evil in those who are otherwise good must be punished with a penalty.

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III. Thirdly, you say: "The justice of eternal punishment is most clearly shown in that those who have sinned have an unchanging wicked will; for to the eternally wicked will, eternal punishment is due. Just as it follows clearly that if someone remains perpetually fixed in evil, they are punished with eternal punishment, so also it is reasonable that someone who is not perpetually punished will not have an unchanging will. For if someone possesses an immovable will for evil, they are kept in eternal punishment; but if they possess an immovable will for good, what need have they for punishment, for surely they are worthy of a crown?" However, you yourself say that those who are purified by this fire possess an unchanging will. Therefore, they do not need to be purified by fire. Solution. In response, we say that the consequence you draw does not hold against us, even though the immutability of the right will is necessary for attaining beatitude; it does not, by itself, suffice, but many factors must come together to bring about good actions, especially to reach the ultimate end. We hold, according to the teachings of Aristotle and the great Dionysius, that the reasoning for good and evil is not the same in their own constitution. Indeed, evil tends to arise from even the lightest faults, while good cannot be perfected unless it is whole and complete in its reasoning. Therefore, any obstacle prevents the perfection and attainment of the good. Even though it might suffice for someone to be punished eternally for the mere fact of being perpetually fixed in evil, it is not sufficient, when someone departs this life, to immediately obtain eternal bliss, if they are simply immovable in the will for good; besides this, it is required that nothing remains that needs purification, for as stated earlier, nothing impure can enter into heavenly beatitude. Furthermore, if the immutability of the right will in one predestined for eternal life were sufficient by itself to attain true beatitude, just as the immutability of the wicked will in one condemned to eternal destruction suffices for

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eternal ruin, why then is there a need to pray for the dead or to request other suffrages, if, as you say, the immutability of the right will alone suffice? From this, it appears that the consequence you sought to draw is not rightly concluded when you say: "He who is immovably fixed to evil is punished eternally; therefore, one who is not perpetually punished does not have an immovable will."

IV. Fourthly, you assert: "If the perfect reward of those who are pure in heart and mind is to see God, yet this is not equally obtained by all: therefore, not all undergo the same purification; hence, there will be no need for purgatory fire if, indeed, in some cases the purification is incomplete. For certainly, they would all have been equally purified by the same fire and equally fit to see God. This also, as it is written, happened figuratively on the mountain where the law was given: for it is certain that not all were accounted as worthy in the same state and order; one was treated differently from another, each, I think, according to the extent of their purification, as Gregory the Theologian said." Solution. To this, we respond that the difference in the blessed vision is not caused by that purification, which we assert is the cleansing from faults and the debt of punishments through purgatory fire. For there are two kinds of purification in this life. The first is the one of which the Lord spoke in the Gospel according to Matthew: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." This refers to the purity of mind, which is perfected by virtues and divine gifts. Thus, St. John Chrysostom says: "By 'the pure,' he calls those who possess all kinds of virtue and are conscious of no evil, or those who live in chastity, which is especially necessary for seeing God, according to Paul's saying: 'Pursue peace with everyone, and holiness, without which no one will see the Lord.'" And this is what determines the difference and degree in eternal fruition. The second purification, about which we now speak, is that which frees and purges souls from venial faults and the debt of punishments by which they are delayed

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from eternal life after their departure. This does not result, as we said before, in a difference of degrees in happiness. For in this kind of purification, it is necessary that all souls be equally purged, for they must be freed from any fault or debt, though they may be purged from different faults.

V. Fifthly, you argue: "The great Saint Gregory the Theologian, while discoursing contemplatively and anagogically about the Paschal mystery, when he came to the part where he says: 'We will carry nothing forward, nor leave anything behind,' clearly and explicitly states that there will be no purification beyond this present night; for he calls the present night the life of each one, and does not admit any purification beyond it." Solution. To this, we respond that the opinion of this blessed man does not at all oppose the truth of purgatory. For when the purification of the wicked is mentioned, one kind happens in this life through the penances and holy actions of the penitent, and another happens after this life. The first purification, which takes its name from penance, cannot occur after the soul's departure; they rest from their labors, as St. John says in the Apocalypse, when any kind of action, whether good or evil, has ceased. Thus, the wise man says: "Before judgment, work righteousness." The second purification, which we are now discussing, by which lesser faults are said to be loosened after this life, does exist. However, Gregory, that most eminent theologian, was not speaking about this second purification, but about the first one, as is evident from the context of his words, where he explains the phrase "We will carry nothing forward" and adds that it is a sacrilege to reveal our mysteries to those who are outside, and only then does he say that there will be no purification after this present night. From this, it is clear that he was speaking about the purification by which greater sins are expunged, which indeed has no place after this life.

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VI. Sixthly, you argue: "While speaking about the plague of hail, he says: 'I do not speak of the torments of the future life, to which the indulgence of this life condemns them; so it is better to be chastised and purified now than to be sent to that punishment, when the time for punishment has come, not for purification.' This clearly shows that there is no purification after departure from this life, but only eternal punishment." Solution. To this, we respond as we did before: for he speaks of the first purification, which is perfected through the groans of penance and the use of holy actions, and which does not exist after this life. As is clear from the series of his discourse, he adds: "For, as the divine psalmist wisely said, one who is mindful of God here is better than death; for there is no confession or correction of morals in hell. Here, God has the life and action, but there the judgment of deeds is concluded."

VII. Seventhly, you argue: "The Lord, in the parable in the Gospel of Luke, about the rich man and Lazarus, teaches what the fate of each one was. He says that Lazarus was carried away by angels into Abraham's bosom immediately after death, but the rich man, as soon as he had died, was buried, and his soul was found in hell, tormented. And thus, by showing the perfect state in Abraham's bosom, the blessed rest of those who have pleased God, and by showing hell and torment, the final damnation and eternal punishment of the wicked, he leaves no place between the two for any temporary punishment, but rather a great and impassable gulf, which separates the one from the other, expressing their absolute and opposite opposition." Solution. To this, we first say that the place assumed in the argument, with negation but without any other addition, as it seems to be quoted in your reasoning, is found to be entirely unusual among learned men. Moreover, we say that although Christ in the parable designated only two places (for he was not discussing the receptacles of disembodied souls, but the ultimate ends

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of men, and purgatory has no place among them), it does not follow that a third place for temporary purification does not exist, especially since our Savior Himself presupposes it in the Gospel according to Matthew, where He teaches that some faults can be forgiven in the future life, which certainly will neither be in paradise nor in hell. Thus, it is necessary to suppose a third place in which this remission takes place. The same has been established by the illustrious Apostle and also by the Latin and Greek doctors, as we mentioned earlier.

VIII. Eighth, you argue thus: "The soul, once separated from the body and made entirely incorporeal and free from matter, is not justly subjected to corporeal fire, since the body, which the fire would have apprehended, has already perished. Certainly, after the resurrection, when the body is assumed again in an incorruptible state, and all creation has been changed, and the fire, as we know, has been separated, it seems reasonable that the punishment inflicted by it should be adapted to the person; nor should this apply only to humans but also to demons, since they too are clothed in some kind of darkness, and also with bodies of air or fire according to the teachings of Basil the Great. But before they receive their bodies, when their form alone exists without any mingling of matter, though it subsists in itself, how can they be tormented by corporeal fire?" Solution. In response to this, we say that it is entirely fitting by divine power and justice for the soul, once separated from the body, to be tormented by corporeal fire. First, we admit that material things have no power over incorporeal beings and spirits, yet no doctor denies that this can be accomplished by divine power. Indeed, if the entire mechanism of the universe exists in hypothetical potential just like matter in a potential state, it can be argued that through divine will spirits can be made fit to receive this punishment. Furthermore, divine justice requires that the soul, which subjected itself to corporeal things through sin, should be subject to the same things in

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the punishments it faces. Therefore, it is neither absurd nor surprising that the fire, acting by divine power as an instrument to punish the wicked, should also affect the separated soul, tormenting it. That this is the case is shown by the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, where the soul of the rich man is said to be tormented by flames even before the resurrection of the body. It is also clearly demonstrated by the divine judgment that the damned are commanded to "depart" into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. Moreover, we reject the opinion of those who assert that demons will assume some kind of airy or fiery bodies to make them more fit to endure torments, as this would seem to be an injury to divine power.

IX. Ninth, you argue thus: "Our holy fathers, who led an angelic life on earth, taught others what they had learned about the eternal torment of the wicked through visions, dreams, and other miracles, and described them as if they were already present, showing how in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, as described in the Gospel of Luke, the state of the blessed and the damned is depicted; but they did not declare anything about purgatory or a temporary fire." Solution. In response, we say that there have indeed been revelations and visions by the holy fathers concerning purgatory. This is testified by Gregory the Great, and even John Damascene speaks of such things. Indeed, in the life of the blessed Jerome, Cyril also presented many miraculous examples. We ourselves have cited many clear testimonies from both Latin and Greek doctors.

X. Tenth, you argue thus: "The opinion about the restoration of all things and the end of eternal punishment, first proposed by Origen, as has been said, and followed by some ecclesiastical figures, including Didymus and Evagrius, gained traction. It was accepted by those who, under the guise of God's mercy, wished to make it palatable to the lazy, just as the author of the Heavenly Ladder, John, states: however, this opinion was condemned by the holy fifth and

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universal council as it weakens souls and makes the lazy even lazier, as they await an eventual liberation from torment and the promised restoration. For these same reasons, this doctrine about the purgatorial fire should be rejected by the Church, since it fosters negligence and convinces people not to work diligently on purifying themselves during this life, thinking that another purification awaits them.” Solution. Although we have already addressed this difficulty, for greater clarity, we shall speak again on the matter. We assert that no such inconvenience will arise from acknowledging the truth of purgatory. After all, there is no teacher so ignorant or listener so unlearned that they would not easily understand the great difference between the suffering of hell and the punishment of purgatory. This tradition is not about making people lazy but about urging them to be vigilant, as they hear of intolerable torments that await in the afterlife, far harsher than anything they might face in this life. We know this from experience. Many who have received such revelations never appeared cheerful again, but remained grave and serious, always fearing that they might fall into the torments they had seen. If, as you say, the doctrine of purgatory makes people lazy, how much lazier will they become if they hear nothing of such a thing? Moreover, they will suffer far more from the slightest contrition, a short confession, or a long journey of salvation than from any other source of comfort. The voice of God, which says, “At whatever hour the sinner groans,” and others like it, will be gravely harmed if the doctrine of purgatory, as you hold, is rejected. Those who deny the purgatorial fire cause people to despair, as they know that nothing defiled can enter eternal life, and no person can live a life entirely free from some lesser fault. If the soul is cleansed of lighter sins or the guilt of greater ones before entering eternal life, and since there is no place for purification after this life, those stained by sin will never be able to see God. Therefore, the doctrine of purgatorial fire must not be rejected by the Church, as

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you suggest, as if it were damaging and an incentive to negligence, but rather it should be embraced and preached honorably by the Catholic Church, as it is most salutary. It prepares souls to be more diligent and vigilant, and more eager for the hope of future blessedness. This should be enough in response to your arguments.

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SECOND DISCOURSE OF MARK, ARCHBISHOP OF
EPHESUS, ON THE FIRE OF PURGATORY.

1. Certainly, many matters require thorough investigation and inquiry when it comes to controversial doctrines, with very strong and weighty arguments on both sides. A great benefit indeed comes from that inquiry, provided we aim not for contention but for truth, and not only strive to win by our strength, but also, if we are ever defeated, bear it with a calm spirit. This, however, is not something that usually happens to us, who often turn to small things, walking on the ground and far from true wisdom; but we hear and believe that the same occurred even to the disciples of Him who is wisdom itself, our Lord Jesus Christ. For when it was once questioned among them whether those from the nations who came to faith should be circumcised and taught to observe the law of Moses, the apostles and elders gathered to consider such a question; and after a great inquiry, Peter gave his opinion, which James confirmed with his vote, and it seemed good to all, with the Holy Spirit, that those from the nations returning to God should not be troubled. If, then, the inquiry there brought about the harmony of those in dispute, there is good hope that we also, who are moved by one spirit and bound by

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the same charity, will aim for the same goal, namely, to attain the truth, without deviating from the intended purpose, even though the inquiry may be prolonged, but in all things, listening and speaking with a peaceful mind, we will begin to agree fraternally in whatever is most true and fitting.

2. And indeed, you profess and hope for these things just as we do; however, you openly declare that we, as if forgetful of such matters, are more than is right concerned and strive to make our own opinion firm, while seeking to overthrow yours. To this we respond that we have by no means proposed our own opinion, whatever it may be, much less have we striven to firm it up; and you yourselves accuse us of this a little further below, asking more clearly to learn what we really believe. Therefore, we will strive not to overturn your opinion, but to demonstrate that it is by no means necessary, both because it has not been sufficiently clearly handed down to us from the Scriptures, nor confirmed by our fathers, and because it does not seem to align at all with reason. Nevertheless, to comply with you as is fitting, we will more openly explain our opinion, not making it more firm than necessary, but stabilizing it as reasonably as it can be, and we will carefully consider yours, whatever it may ultimately be. For perhaps the truth found from this will free us from disputes and from further disagreement among us.

3. We profess, therefore, that the just have not perfectly received their proper lot and that blessed state to which in this life they prepared themselves through their works, nor have the wicked immediately after death been condemned to eternal punishment, wherein they will be tormented forever; but both of these things will certainly occur after the final judgment and the resurrection of all. Now, however, they both exist in suitable places, the one group indeed entirely peaceful and free in heaven with the angels and before God Himself, even in paradise, from which Adam fell, into which the

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righteous thief was the first to enter, conversing with us everywhere in those places where temples are honored, hearing those who have called upon them and interceding for them before God, as those endowed with such an extraordinary gift from Him, performing miracles through their own relics, even enjoying the blessed vision of God and the radiance that flows from it much more perfectly and brightly than before, while they were living; the other group, on the contrary, is confined in hell, dwelling in darkness, in the shadow of death, and in the lowest pit, as David says, and again Job: "In the land of darkness and gloom, in the land of eternal darkness, where there is no light, nor life for men." And indeed, they will possess the highest joy and soul's delight, already expecting and almost having in their hands the promised kingdom and secret goods; but those, on the contrary, will be consumed by the greatest distress and inconsolable sorrow, waiting for the judge's sentence, expecting the punishments of the damned. Nor, however, have they attained the inheritance of the kingdom and those goods, "which no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor has the heart of man conceived"; nor have they been condemned to eternal punishments, being burned by inextinguishable fire. And we hold this doctrine not only accepted from our fathers of old, but also we can easily confirm it from the very divine Scriptures.

4. Indeed, in some very ancient responses, under the title of the renowned doctor Athanasius to the prince Antiochus, this question is posed: "What then? Have the just received their reward, and the sinners their punishment?" — "Not at all. The very joy that the souls of the saints enjoy is part of their happiness, as the sadness that sinners have is part of their punishment." Just as if the emperor were to summon his friends to dine with him, but to punish the condemned, those called to dinner would rejoice before the emperor's house, until the hour of the dinner came; but the condemned would dwell in sorrow, locked up in custody, until the judge comes: so it

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should be understood concerning the souls who have departed before us, I mean of the just and the sinners. "If no one, as it was said, has entered the kingdom or hell, what then is that which we have heard concerning the rich man and Lazarus, where the rich man speaks of being in fire and torments, speaking to Abraham?" — Concerning Lazarus, the Lord spoke parabolically, as He did concerning the ten virgins and other parables. For indeed, the parable of Lazarus did not actually happen; for in hell, the sinners do not see the just, who are with Abraham in the kingdom; in fact, no one there in the darkness recognizes his neighbor."

5. This opinion, having been taken by our Church, she both believes and declares; and to defend it, there are more than sufficient arguments. First indeed, the Lord, in the Gospel according to Matthew, describes the future judgment: "Come," He says, "blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom, which was prepared for you" — therefore, they had not yet inherited it; "then," He says, "the kingdom prepared for you" — prepared, not given. Again, concerning sinners: "Depart, you cursed ones" — therefore, they had not yet departed — "into the eternal fire, which is prepared, not for you, but for the devil and his angels." This also in this place is again said to be prepared, as those who have not yet been apprehended will be the demons; for how could this happen, since they have been passing through the air until that day, working without hindrance upon those who obeyed them? The same demons cry out to the Lord, as it is found in the same Gospel: "Have you come here before the time to torment us?" — therefore, they were not yet being tormented when the time had not yet come. Thus, if the wicked demons and the principal architects of all evil, to whom the punishment is specially prepared and laid up, have not yet suffered their due punishment, but freely go about wherever they wish, what reason then can persuade us that the souls of those who have passed from this life in sin should be immediately

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delivered to fire and those punishments which were prepared for others? Indeed, why would there be need for judgment or even the resurrection of the bodies, or the second coming of the judge to the earth, and that great and universal spectacle, if, before that day, both had already received their reward according to their merits? And why does the Lord, in the parable of the virgins, say that the virgins who went out to meet the bridegroom, that is, the souls, were sleeping and had fallen asleep while the bridegroom delayed, that is, had died, yet had not entered the marriage chamber until the bridegroom came from heaven, raising all of them, as if from sleep, and introducing some with Him, but excluding others? This will indeed, as is evident to all, take place on that day. For then, He says, "the kingdom of heaven will be like ten virgins." But how can He, having gone away on a journey, distribute His goods to His servants, and then when He returns, require of each a report of their work and give them their reward?

6. And truly, the Apostle says in his second letter to the Corinthians: "We must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he has done, whether good or bad." You see, no one has received their reward before that judgment, and before all of us are manifested together, each one receiving reward according to what he has done in the body? Furthermore, in his second letter to Timothy, he says that the time of his departure is at hand, but that the crown of righteousness is laid up for him, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give him on that day: and not only to him, but to all who love His appearing. And in his second letter to the Thessalonians: "It is indeed just with God to repay with affliction those who afflict you; and to you who are afflicted, rest with us when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, in flaming fire, inflicting vengeance on those who do not know God and

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on those who do not obey the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; they will suffer the punishment of eternal destruction, away from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of His might, when He comes to be glorified in His saints, and to be marveled at among all who have believed, because our testimony to you was believed on that day.” Furthermore, in the letter to the Hebrews, speaking about the saints who preceded us, it says: “All these, though commended through their faith, did not receive what was promised, since God had provided something better for us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect.” This is understood to refer to all the faithful and righteous who lived before the coming of the Lord. Just as the ancient fathers were not made perfect without the apostles, so neither were the apostles without the martyrs, nor the martyrs without those who came after them into the best vineyard of the Church. This is also plainly taught by the parable, where workers are hired at different times of the day but receive the same reward. The great evangelist John also speaks similarly in the Apocalypse: “When He opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne; they cried out with a loud voice, ‘O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before You will judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell on the earth?’ Then they were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number of their fellow servants and their brothers should be complete, who were to be killed as they themselves had been.” From all these, it is clear that neither the saints are enjoying the perfect good things and the future beatitude, nor the sinners, already condemned, are being tormented by their punishment. For how could it happen that the imperfect, almost incomplete, and lacking bodies (which they will take on again, incorruptible, after the resurrection), could receive their complete rewards? Therefore, the Apostle says: “Christ the firstfruits, then at His coming those who

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belong to Christ, then the end. Then will appear, He says, then will shine, then will be consumed. And the Lord in the gospel: "Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

7. Finally, let us bring in the teachers of the Church who support this view and confirm it in general. The great Gregory the Theologian in his funeral oration in praise of his brother Caesar says: "I am led by the words of the wise to believe that every beautiful soul, dear to God, after being released from the chains of the body, immediately perceives and contemplates the good that awaits it, and, being freed from the darkness that held it, rejoices with a marvelous pleasure, and, as if liberated from a heavy prison, directs itself peacefully to its Lord, and enjoys a hidden beatitude, which it had already perceived through a shadowy image; and after some time, when it has taken back the related flesh from the earth, which both gave and received it in faith, then at last it will be admitted into the heavenly inheritance of glory, and just as it had shared in the sorrows of nature, it will also share in the delights, absorbing all of itself into the one thing, spirit, mind, and God, by the life that absorbs what was mortal and fleeting."

8. The golden-tongued John in his sixth discourse on the State says: "Just as the boxer hastens to leave the stadium in order to be freed from his wounds, and the athlete longs for the spectators to rise, that he may be freed from his labors, so he who lives a rigorous and harsh life with virtue desires the end, in order to be freed from present labors, and with the crowns of victory placed before him, to trust in them, sailing to the peaceful harbor, where no shipwreck is feared." And in the fourth *Against the Ludicrous Discourse*, when he praises the martyrs, he says: "They have despised this life, trampled on executions and tortures, scorned death, and been freed from the delusions of human affairs, sailing peacefully to the harbor, and now

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they have reached Paul's choir, eagerly awaiting their crowns, as they no longer have uncertainty about the future."

9. Again, the divine Gregory, in his discourse *On the Plague of Hail*, after describing that future judgment, says: "The righteous will proceed into the resurrection of life, now hidden in Christ, but afterward to be revealed with Him; but those who have done evil, into the resurrection of judgment, where even those who do not believe have already been condemned by the Word of God. And indeed the light that excels all speech will shine forth, the contemplation of the Holy and Royal Trinity, purer and clearer, merging completely with the mind, and I think that the kingdom of heaven is most certainly set in this contemplation. But for the others, along with the rest, it remains to be a punishment, to be cast away from God, and the shame of conscience, which will have no end."

10. From all these things, it clearly appears that whatever some of the saints have seen through visions and revelations about the future damnation of the wicked and sinners, these are merely shadows or outlines of the future, not things that are already present and in action. Thus, Daniel, describing the future judgment in the manner of the prophets, says: "I looked until thrones were placed, and the judgment seat was set, and the books were opened, and these and those were made. For it is evident that these things were not accomplished, but shown to the prophet in a mental vision."

11. Therefore, from all the arguments presented, and from the pious teaching of our Church, it is clear that neither the wicked receive eternal punishment immediately, nor the righteous immediately attain the eternal kingdom, but both wait for that future judgment to fully receive what is prepared for them, according to their deeds. How then can we accept any other form of punishment, one that is now being carried out, and a temporary fire by which the souls of those who have lived moderately may be tormented while

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they await the universal punishment, when even the worst and most wicked men, indeed the demons themselves, are not yet afflicted? For the divine apostle Peter says in his letter that they also await this judgment, detained in hell, like in prison and chains, but not yet tormented: "For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into chains of gloomy darkness to be kept until judgment." Do you hear? They are detained by a prior power, being confined in prison while awaiting the judgment. Surely by the same reasoning, the worst sinners are indeed tormented in part, but they have not yet been cast into the final punishment. Therefore, we would say that the punishment of the mediocres consists of remorse, or the shame of conscience and its sting, or repentance, or confinement and darkness, or fear and the ambiguity of the future, or merely the delay in divine vision, depending on the nature of the sins each one has committed. This will be the most accurate mode of thinking and speaking. As for the souls being purified in the corporeal fire, we absolutely cannot say this, and we will ask those who do, not to be angry with us if we do not easily accept it. Unless we perhaps think that the fire is mentioned allegorically or cleverly devised for some necessity of that time and for the benefit of the listeners. These are the reasons we usually offer to explain new and unusual doctrines that are not in accordance with Scripture.

12. Therefore, the prayers for the dead, which the Church performs in the mystical sacrifice and in other certain ceremonies, which are customary at various times, for all those who have peacefully passed away in the faith, we offer equally, and we pronounce that they help and benefit all in some way, with efficacy and usefulness, which derives from them, overflowing to all: for sinners indeed, and for those who are held in hell, that they might receive some relaxation, even if they are not completely freed, as Basil the Great says in the prayers to be recited at Pentecost, writing these

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words verbatim: "Who, even in this most solemn and saving festival, has deigned to accept expiatory prayers for those who are held in hell: you give us great hope, that they may receive some relaxation of their punishments and some kind of relief granted by you." Nor is it surprising that we pray for these, since some saints, when they prayed for the wicked, were heard. Thus, the blessed Thecla brought Falconilla from the region of the impious by her prayers, and Gregory the Great, as they say, transferred Emperor Trajan. However, the Church of God does not pray for such men; but for all those who have died in the faith, even if they were most wicked, it asks for forgiveness from God, offering prayers for them both publicly and privately. This is clear from that very collective formula, for it says, "For all who have peacefully passed away in the faith"; it is also clear from the preceding words of the great Basil; it is evident also from those said by blessed John Chrysostom in his commentaries on the Gospel of John, Homily 62: "If the one who has died was a sinner, who often offended God, he certainly must be mourned; indeed, not only mourned, since this brings no benefit to him, but those things must be done which can help him, such as almsgiving and offerings." And again, in his commentary on the first letter to the Corinthians, Homily 41, he says this: "If the sinner has passed away, then one should rejoice because the sins have been cut off and he has added nothing to his fault; and, as far as it is possible, one should help him, not weep for him." And after a few more words: "Why then do you grieve? Why do you lament, when such great forgiveness can be obtained for the deceased?" And in his exposition of the Epistle to the Philippians, he says again: "If the Gentiles, together with the deceased, are accustomed to burn their belongings, much more fitting is it for you, who are faithful, to offer what pertains to him, not so that it may be reduced to ashes like that, but to acquire greater glory for him: and if the one who has died was bound by sin, that his sins

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may be cleansed; but if he was just, that he may receive an increase in reward and recompense." And indeed, from that very saying you brought up from the book of Maccabees, which is apt to prove that it is good and beneficial to pray for the dead, so that they may be freed from sin, it is clear that that sacrifice and propitiation offered for them was for those who had fallen into impiety and idolatry. "For Judas Maccabeus," it says, "when he saw that the people he led had been slain by foreign enemies, and found their garments stripped, and their offerings for idols, immediately offered a sacrifice and propitiation to God for each of them." Therefore, if the prayers and supplications of the Church benefit such people and confer much gain to them, as those who are not yet condemned nor subjected to the sentence of the judge nor cast into punishment, much more will they assist those who are in a middle state, if made for them, either by referring them to the order of the just, if their sins are slight and minor, or by relieving their pains and advancing them in better hope, if they are left in their present condition. And indeed, even for those who have lived justly and holily, with these prayers, especially the hidden virtue of the sacrifice, reaches them, since they too are imperfect and are always progressing in the good, not yet enjoying perfect happiness, as is clear from what the expositor of divine things, Dionysius, asserts in his consideration of the mysteries, in which it is stated that prayers are made for those who have peacefully passed away in the faith: "The high priest," he says, "prays for those who have lived holily, that they may receive the brightest divine life, to be rewarded according to their merits by those just balances, and for the promised and certainly given good: for he is the interpreter of divine judgments, asking for divine gifts, and openly declaring what is to come, according to the sacred right, for those who have completed their lives according to God." Therefore, since that virtue overflows to all, and the aid of prayers and hidden sacrifices benefits all those who

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have peacefully passed away in the faith, as shown, we find no objection in saying that such help is provided for those who are in purgatorial fire.

13. However, that which you blame us for saying, namely that this opinion leads to the corruption of morals and sloth of life, we said not because it necessarily follows, but because it is likely that such a consequence might result. For some, perhaps, will be struck by fear of that purgatorial fire, which is said and believed to be most intense; others, however, will be led into negligence and carelessness, since its nature is unknown, but is affirmed to be temporary. Indeed, many can be heard saying: "I wish that purgatorial fire might exist after death, namely, that I might safely wait for that purification." Similarly, others say: "I wish that those torments might have an end, so that they are no longer a concern for me."

14. What more is there? Those who say to us that this opinion was not taught by any doctor, you are trying to bring it to an astonishing conclusion based on the words of Basil the Great, where, in praying, he asks God to deign to transfer the souls of the dead to a place of refreshment. You say that this phrase signifies the souls being tortured by fire, and that he prays for them to be moved to a contrary state. But it is surprising how you, by using this very phrase, suggest that Basil intended to pray for the souls to be freed from purgatory, even though in none of his prayers or speeches does this holy man ever say or imply that he prays for such souls to be liberated from purgatory's fire. You are misinterpreting his words, as though they were meant to signify another kind of forgiveness or liberation from suffering! But what? David indeed says: "Release me, that I may be refreshed before I go," not certainly because he is being consumed by fire, but because he is in various kinds of distress.

15. As for Gregory of Nyssa, that famous doctor, it seems strange to you, indeed, you take it harshly and bitterly, that we have

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put forward this opinion, that he, being a man, has strayed from the right doctrine, and you believe that all dogmas and the entire Scripture are undermined by this argument. To this, we reply that there is a great distinction between what is proclaimed by canonical Scriptures and handed down by the Church, and what any doctor might have personally written or taught: for the former must be believed as divinely revealed and must be harmonized, if they seem to differ; the latter, however, does not necessarily need to be believed, nor should it be uncritically accepted.

For it is possible for someone to be a teacher without always speaking accurately. Indeed, what need would there have been for the ecumenical synods, if it were impossible for anyone to stray from the truth? This indeed happened to some, such as Dionysius of Alexandria and Gregory Thaumaturgus, one of whom received the crown of martyrdom, while the other's name suffices for praise.

And regarding the divine Dionysius, Basil the Great, writing to Maximus, says: "Our judgment is this: We do not admire everything in this man; indeed, there are things we completely condemn. For nearly all the impiety now being spread, I speak of the Anomoean heresy, was first sown by him, as far as we know. However, I believe the cause was not the wrongness of his opinion, but his intense desire to oppose Sabellius." And a little later: "We have found that this has happened to this man: When he strongly encountered impiety, he did not realize that, in his excessive zeal to oppose it, he had fallen into the opposite evil." And shortly after: "Therefore, it happened that he changed one evil for another, but deviated from the right doctrine." Regarding Gregory Thaumaturgus, writing to his brother, he says: "Furthermore, when he was a pagan, he did not think that it was necessary to examine words carefully, but conceded something to the character of the one being introduced, so that he might not resist what was most important. Therefore, you will find

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many words there which now give the greatest strength to heretics, such as 'creation' and 'making,' and anything of that sort." And what is so surprising about one or another straying from the right doctrine, when the whole synod, namely the Neocaesarean synod, of which Basil the martyr, bishop of Amasya, was president, seems not to have understood the apostolic saying that was used to establish the canon? Indeed, when the sixth ecumenical synod declared the abrogation of this canon, it says about it in Canon XVI: "Since the book of Acts teaches that seven deacons were appointed by the apostles, the Neocaesarean synod, in its published canons, openly stated that there should be seven deacons according to the canon, even if the city is large, as you will be persuaded from the book of Acts; but we, having adapted the mind of the fathers to the apostolic teaching, found that they referred to those who served in the ministry of the tables." But only the canonical Scriptures are immune from error, as Blessed Augustine testifies in his writings to Jerome: "For only in the books of Scripture which are now called canonical have I learned to give this honor and reverence, that I firmly believe no author of them has erred in writing... However, I read other writings in such a way that, although the sanctity and doctrine of the authors might be preeminent, I do not think them true simply because they wrote or thought so." And again, in his letter to Fortunatian: "Nor do we have to treat the disputations of anyone, even if they are Catholics and praised men, as if they were canonical Scriptures, so that we cannot, with due honor to those men, reject or oppose something in their writings, if perhaps we find that they thought differently from the truth, as understood either by divine help or by others." And in such a way, I am with the writings of others: such I want to be in understanding my own writings."

16. Therefore, since such honor, as stated, and faith and obedience are due only to the canonical Scriptures, what foolishness

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do we admit, when we say that Gregory of Nyssa, being a man, strayed somewhat from the right doctrine? This, though the matter was still controversial at that time, as we have already mentioned? Indeed, you contend that he did not deny eternal fire, as is clearly evident from his Catechetical Prayer and from another prayer concerning infants who are prematurely taken; if you could prove that he ever said or believed such a thing, we would have much gratitude for you. For we do not find anywhere that he said or implied that the eternal fire is everlasting torment, or that only small sins will be expiated, but rather that any fault would be erased by that fire, and that any punishment would eventually cease, having an end, since it is nothing but a purification, not only of the impious and wicked men, but also of the very demons, restoring them to their former state. For about the devil, he says in the Catechetical Prayer: "He indeed used deceit to destroy nature; but this one, both just and good and wise, devised a deception for the salvation of the one who was perishing, benefiting not only him who perished, but also the one who had plotted destruction against us. For, as death indeed approached life, and darkness to light, and corruption to incorruption, what was worse is truly destroyed and reduced to nothing, but that which is purified is helped. Just as when a baser material is mixed with gold, and the goldsmiths, having consumed the foreign and impure part by fire, restore the material to its native and superior brilliance, so also, when death, destruction, and darkness, and if any other spawn of wickedness, cling to the evil one, the divine power, like fire, abolishes what was unnatural within him, affecting the nature of incorruption with its benefit, though this purification is laborious. Therefore, the adversary himself did not doubt that what is done is just and salutary, since it has reached the point of benefiting the one who has undergone it. Now, just as those who are cut and burned for the sake of healing become angry with those who heal them, because they are sharply pricked by the pain of

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the incision, yet if from it health results, and the pain of the burning passes, those healed will give thanks to those who cured them, so also, after the evil that is now mixed and congealed in nature has been removed by long cycles of time, once the restoration of the state of those now lying in evil is made, all creation will give thanks with one voice, both those who have been chastised in purification, and those who have never needed any purification." And again, in the prayer concerning the dead, dealing with any vice, he says: "Therefore, in order that both the dignity of human nature, with free will, might be preserved, and the evil might be removed, divine wisdom devised this plan, that it might allow man to choose for himself, so that, tasting the evils he desired, and learning by experience what he had chosen, he would be again kindled by the same desire, that, the burdens of vices and disorders contrary to reason being removed, he might either in this present life be purified by the study of wisdom and reason, or, after death, be purified through the fire of cleansing, and return to his former happiness." And after a few words: "In this, man, while living here, acting according to his own will, if he neglects what is bestial, will adopt a more civilized way of living, overcoming what is opposed to reason; in this present life he will expiate the vice he has mixed with his nature; if, however, the impulse of disturbances leads him astray, he will turn to the bestial nature, and then another course will be necessary for him, that he may arrive at the good, when he has left the body, having understood the difference between virtue and vice, and will not be able to become a partaker of the divine nature unless the stains mixed in his soul are removed by the purgatorial fire." For these reasons, the use of the body is necessary for us; for it is through it that free will is present, and the return to the good is not blocked, but in due order and succession we are moved toward better things, some already, from the time they live here, establishing a life free from vices and disturbances, such as we understand the patriarchs and

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prophets to have been, and those who, along with them and after them, through virtue and the study of wisdom, returned to perfection, such as the disciples, apostles, and martyrs, and anyone who, having preferred a life of honor joined with virtue, though fewer in number than those who turned to worse things, nevertheless testify by their example and witness that virtue can be cultivated and practiced in the flesh; but others, after this life, removing the stain of matter and the inclination to evil through the purgatorial fire, and returning to the grace initially granted to nature, will return to it by their voluntary desire for good things." And in his prayer concerning infants who are taken prematurely: "It is certainly clear to him who has seen the reasoning of divine power that the one who has reached this height of wickedness can, after many cycles of years, be restored again through the eternal purification and join the company of the saved."

17. These things having been said by him about every fault equally, and about all sinners and wicked men, as well as about the demons themselves, it is quite clear, as they say, that he asserted this purgation through fire would occur after the resurrection and judgment. This is evidently shown by what he says in the same speech about infants: "Will that soul too be brought before the judgment seat, and undergo the judgment of the life she lived? Will she receive her retribution according to her merits? Or will she be purified by fire according to the words of the Gospel, or will she be refreshed and revived in the dew of blessing?" What, I ask, do these words have in common with the purgatory you introduce? For he decided that all sinners and all faults would equally be purified by that fire; but you, on the other hand, affirm that some, namely the lighter ones, and some people, specifically those who were not completely wicked, would be purified; he indeed after the final judgment, but you immediately after the departure from the body. Do we not act rightly

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when we do not fully agree with such statements, but regard them either as spurious or, even if they are genuine, we reject them as contrary to the generally accepted Scriptures and dogmas?

18. Thus, we were compelled to refer to these words to avoid the appearance of slandering the holy man, while we say that he supported the teachings of Origen. It is certainly appropriate for you to also bring some defense of these words if you can think of any that are new (I say appropriate since he is considered a common doctor), and what happened, that his works were condemned by the Fifth Synod and handed over to the fire? For to claim that after this synod they were corrupted by others for some other reason is a crude and outdated excuse and utterly unnecessary. However, that such an opinion existed does not necessarily mean that his works were to be destroyed and consigned to the flames. For this did not happen to all of Origen's books, as is evident from the *Philocalia*, which is composed by Gregory the Theologian, with the help of Basil the Great, and is filled with similar words and thoughts, because the issue was still under dispute, as we previously stated. However, what method the holy Maximus devised to resolve the renowned Gregory's opinion on restoration to the original state, we will recount without omitting anything; whether, however, these numerous words suffice to cure so many, let your judgment be. "The Church knows of a threefold restoration to the original state," he says: "one indeed, of each individual, according to the measure of virtue by which it is restored, where it has fulfilled the measure of virtue in itself; another, the restoration of the entire nature in the resurrection, when it is restored to incorruption and immortality; and a third, which Gregory Nyssenus chiefly used in his speeches, namely that whereby the powers of the soul, which had succumbed to sin, are restored to the original state in which they were created. For it is necessary that, just as all nature in the resurrection, when we hope to receive the

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incorruption of the flesh, so too the perverted powers of the soul, the images of wickedness and malice implanted in it, be lost after the long duration of ages, and after all the ages have passed, without any further delay, come to God, who has no end; and thus through knowledge, not participation in good, but by receiving power, it will be restored to its original state, showing openly that the creator of sin is not the same." If you have judged this medicine to be appropriate, it will be the best fortune for both sides; if another more accurate one needs to be sought, let fair Mars, as they say, favor both sides. For it is clear to everyone that Origen's opinions clearly align with these words you just quoted, and it is surprising that you regard the ancient opinion of the Church, which lies between two opposites, on the purgatorial fire, when most of the renowned teachers have allegorized that eternal fire and eternal punishment, so that they considered the fire there and the outer darkness as nothing but ignorance of God, in the same way that light itself is called the vision of the blessed; and the worm, of course, that is the reptile, venomously shooting and consuming the flesh, is nothing other than the stings of conscience and the bitter repentance that the wicked undergo; while the gnashing of teeth is no other than the fury of those who seek vengeance and the sorrow that results from it, as well as the bitter weeping. Moreover, if these are the kinds of torments after the resurrection and judgment, how can we believe that incorporeal souls, as soon as they are released, will be burned and purified by corporeal fire, unless one says that these words too, just like those, refer to something else, namely to be taken allegorically and spiritually?

19. Furthermore, when we examined the testimonies, both from the book of Maccabees and from the Gospel, that you have brought forward, candidly and sincerely indicating that no punishment or purification is shown in them, but only the remission of sins, you introduced a strange distinction, asserting that every sin is

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divided into two parts, namely the offense against God and the punishment resulting from it; and indeed, the offense is forgiven after contrition and detestation of evil, but the punishment remains absolutely owed, so that it is necessary for those whose sins are forgiven to still be tormented because of them. However, since these things are entirely contrary to the clearest and most acknowledged facts, we will refrain from further discussion: for we do not see kings, after granting forgiveness and remission, still afflicting with punishments those who have committed crimes, much less God Himself, to whom mercy is supreme among all His attributes, and who punishes after sin, but immediately removes the punishment after remission. And this is right. For if the offense against God merits punishment, once the cause is removed and reconciliation has been made, the effect itself, that is, the punishment, must necessarily be taken away. Thus, the publican, with a contrite heart when he prayed, was not only freed from sins, but was also justified in descending, which is the same as saying he was no longer liable to any punishment. Manasseh in the Old Testament, as soon as he prayed with humility, received forgiveness and was restored to his kingdom by divine power in a very short time. The Ninevites, however, performed such a prompt penance that they both freed themselves from sin and avoided the punishment that had been threatened. And the paralytic in the Gospel, when he first received the remission of his sins, immediately, as a sequel, was raised up from his bodily ailment. But why should we enumerate all examples in such an open and manifest matter? In truth, where did you take that distinction, which you proposed as necessary and universal? Which evangelist, apostle, or Church doctor ever wrote anything of the sort? What deeds demonstrate this? For David's example is not enough, whose sin of adultery and homicide was indeed forgiven, but he lost the son he had borne; for he fully received the remission of his sin, as is evident from

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the fact that he did not lose the prophetic gift, but he paid a mild penalty, as God judged. Indeed, this was not a punishment, but rather grief, which may have been granted for other reasons, which teachers often mention when discussing those infants who are taken prematurely. For the son he later bore from that same woman not only survived, but succeeded to his father's kingdom, and he was Solomon, the wisest of men. Therefore, from the particular nature of that act, one should not conclude by generalizing that only the offense is forgiven, while the punishment must necessarily remain. This utterly contradicts both common opinion and the nature of things, and it does not seem consistent even with your own views. For if the cause, namely the stain, as you put it, adhering to the soul after the offense against the Creator, is forgiven, what is left to be purified by punishment, when that stain has been removed through remission? If remission could not in any way bring about purification without punishment, your view would seem correct; but if the first, greatest, and most perfect remission of sins, which is made through baptism, carries with it the cleansing of all stains and the resolution of all punishment, then what necessity is there for this second remission to lack the purifying power and to attribute it solely to the punishment? Besides what has been said, we assert that the authorities you cited do not support your opinion: for the passage from Maccabees was not about some minor fault, but about a grave and deadly crime for which propitiation and sacrifice were made for the dead; and as for that passage from the Gospel, namely that he who blasphemes will not be forgiven either in this age or the next, it certainly does not support your view, as if remission were then granted, but it indicates that, while some faults are punished in this life, others in the next, and still others in both, that particular sin, which cannot be forgiven or remitted either in this life or in the next, will receive the severest of punishments.

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20. Now, we must proceed to the most serious and foremost arguments, namely that which the apostolic statement seeks and demands as firmness: for this, almost alone, the entire consensus of the learned Latins rests upon the doctrine of purgatory fire. Moreover, since there are many among us Greeks who have treated the sacred Scripture, of whom the chief and leader is John, that golden-tongued one, no one has come to this conclusion that he would derive from the apostolic statement the purgatory fire that you hold to be confessed, at least it does not seem to you so; for you have not presented even one interpretation of our countrymen that proposes such a thing. All of them also freely admit that the words of Sacred Scripture are to be explained by the holy doctors in various ways, not only by using words meant to signify different things, as you, with your wisdom, have proposed the voices of the lion and the rock in the middle (for this is peculiar to Scripture), but also by using the entire context of a particular passage in different and often even opposing senses: in this way, blessed John Chrysostom judged that by the apostolic session with Christ, only a certain honor was signified, and that the judgment of the tribes of Israel was understood to refer only to condemnation: "For," he said, "men will not sit with the judge, God, but will only condemn, as the Ninevites and the Queen of the South condemned the corrupt people of the Jews"; but other doctors call and refer to the apostles as both fellow judges and co-judges of the Lord Christ. Do these seem contradictory? But it is no surprise that in some matters and opinions that are not essential, one person has departed from another's view, whether the mind so decided, or the opinion suggested it, or the time and circumstances or the will of the listeners required it. Therefore, by the same reasoning, this proposed statement is rightly subject to various interpretations, both among our scholars and yours. However, the interpretation of the blessed Father John Chrysostom is certainly more accurate and truer,

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not only because of his dignity and preeminence, for which even the great apostle Paul seemed to converse with him, and also because of the unanimous consent of our other doctors with him, but also because he, more than anyone else, seems to follow the series and order of the apostolic statement, as one who does not dissect each individual word and interpret it separately, but gives a deeper and more comprehensive exposition that repeats the apostle's scope and objective, and presents it all as one integrated body. Moreover, anyone who wishes to reflect on it—especially if this apostolic scope and aim proposed from the beginning is kept in mind—will find that Chrysostom's interpretation is far more accurate than the one presented and maintained by you.

21. For the Corinthians, to whom the epistle is addressed, when they were in disagreement among themselves, and some preferred one teacher over another from those who were famous for wealth and worldly wisdom (for these were greatly admired and boasted about because of their wealth), they stirred up greater disputes and contentions, to the point that even when someone had married his stepmother, they let it go unpunished and uncondemned. This one was among those teachers whom they were proud of, and even though he had fallen into such a great crime, he still retained the dignity of a teacher, having a considerable following, and supported by worldly wisdom and wealth. When the divine apostle sought to correct this, he first addresses them with a general admonition and rebuke, urging them to speak the same thing and not to form factions, nor to ascribe to one another the titles of those teachers, whom he wanted to name without naming, each of you, he says, says: "I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ," adding Christ to them to shame them, since all should come under the one part of Christ, without being called by any other, not even by the principal apostles themselves, for this, he says, I have made into me and

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Apollos, so that you may learn in us not to think beyond what is written. Then he condemns the arrogance of worldly wisdom, calling it the origin and cause of schisms, and drives it out of the Church, calling it the "emptying of the cross of Christ" and foolishness before God, and whatever else is such. Then he diminishes the wisdom of those teachers, saying, "For who is Paul? who is Apollos? but ministers by whom you believed, and to each as the Lord gave." I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. So then neither he who plants is anything, nor he who waters, but God who gives the increase. And he who plants and he who waters are one. Everything is from divine power; we, however, contribute only a small and humble part, so that no one can achieve more than another in this matter, even though we expect a reward for it. Each will receive his own reward according to his labor. In this place, he calls the teachers mercenaries, so that they do not exalt themselves, as the Lord alone will reward their work. Then, when he wanted to refer to the fornicator teacher, whom he later excommunicates and hands over to Satan, he says, "We are workers of God; for we do not perform our own work, but we contribute to the Lord who is willing to work." You are God's field, you are God's building. Changing his metaphor from agriculture to building, he calls himself the architect, according to the grace of God, and now boasting of his own preeminence, so that he may be all the more able to rebuke and threaten. "I," he says, "have laid the foundation, starting with faith in Christ, for that is the foundation; but another builds upon it, namely, each of your teachers. Let each one take care how he builds upon it." Here he significantly attacks the fornicator. Let each one take care, he says, whether he builds with sound doctrine and consistent words, for the building of teachers consists primarily in deeds, which commend it. Therefore, let no one consider only his own building, nor think that he is profiting from it, but let him consider what is built with him, for these must be

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tested by fire on that day. What fire? Surely that which will precede in the sight of God, according to David's saying, and which will seize and illuminate the saints and the best teachers whose excellent works have been built upon the foundation of Christ, and will make them more glorious, and through the preservation and brightness of their work, it will serve as a reward for them who labored. But those who have built with wood, hay, straw, that is, worthless material easily consumed by fire, away from the good foundation, such as the fornicator, who arrogated the teacher's task to himself, will not only not receive any reward for their teaching, but even the work of teaching itself, when burned, will become a detriment, not a reward. For such a work or teacher will not withstand the power of that fire. However, that teacher himself will not perish with his own work, but will be saved and stand before the judge, to give an account of what he has done, and to receive eternal punishment, without receiving any benefit from that completed teaching, as his work will be utterly consumed. For thus, he will be saved as through fire, by which such materials are burned and consumed, and he will achieve salvation through a worse destruction: it would have been better for him if he had not been brought to light at all, or if he had not lived at all, bearing such material. He then adds, speaking openly of that one who had committed the sin, saying, "Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone defiles the temple of God, God will destroy him, for the temple of God is holy, which you are." And when that one who boasted of wisdom and of teaching thought that he would avoid punishment, he continues, "Let no one deceive himself. If anyone among you thinks he is wise in this age, let him become a fool, that he may become wise; for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." And while he had discoursed on these things, he again uses a most vehement speech, now addressing the one who had committed the sin, and

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harshly rebukes those who were admiring that teacher, who were focused only on his eloquent speech, but not looking at his virtue and character. For thus he speaks: "As though I were not coming to you, some are puffed up. But I will come to you soon, if the Lord wills, and I will know not the speech of those who are puffed up, but the power: for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. What do you want? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in love and a spirit of meekness?" Indeed, there is heard among you fornication, and such fornication as is not even named among the Gentiles, that someone should have his father's wife; and you are puffed up, and have not mourned, so that the one who has done this deed might be taken away from among you? Do you see in this place what kind of work he said would be burned up, and the work of the fornicator being truly referred to? If the fornication is only slight or moderate, and this fornication, according to your teachers' interpretation, leads to a good salvation for the teacher, then why does the interpretation of Chrysostom not hold strength, and why do we not understand the salvation here as referring only to the fact that he is not completely lost with his work, but that it remains, after his work has been destroyed, standing before the judge with his work now utterly consumed? For that fire alone has the power to prove, but it is not the one that will seize sinners forever; and perhaps for this very reason David says, "He will kindle a fire around his enemies," that is, it will burn and obscure them and make them hideous, as those burned by fire usually become, but it will not utterly destroy them. Gregory the Theologian also distinguishes this from the eternal fire in his prayer on Baptism, as he examines the different kinds of fire: "Whether," he says, "it is that fire which will proceed before the face of the Lord and burn around his enemies, or whether it is that far more dreadful fire, which is united with the worm of sleep and is never extinguished, but remains eternal for the punishment of the wicked."

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22. How this explanation seems better and more directly related to the goal of the apostolic teaching, as has been clearly shown, we say that the vilest and most corrupt works, which are signified by wood, hay, and stubble, are opposed to those excellent and noble works, which are signified by gold, silver, and precious stones. These works are indeed suitable for building, but the structure to which they are applied will easily be destroyed by fire. For the apostle's intention was to show that no benefit or reward will be gained by those who build upon the foundation of Christ with corrupt works. Therefore, he opposed the reward in such a way that, when the work cannot be saved nor presented to the judge for payment, the one who completed the work will still be saved, as though through fire, like one who is barely saved and will stand before the judge with a miserable and incomplete report. It is perhaps for this reason that the prophet, when speaking of that day, says: "Behold the man and his work," to show that both the work and the worker must be preserved if there is to be any reward. Now, we say that these corrupt works are built upon, not by the wicked, which is your opinion, nor by any sinner at all; for the apostle was not intending to speak to all, nor was he giving a general division, but he was speaking of those who labor in cooperation with God, that is, of the teachers. While building upon the foundation of Christ (for it cannot happen otherwise, since they are the instructors of Christians), it is possible, he says, that even the most corrupt and vile works might be built upon it, as it happened to one who fell into fornication. If you say that the worst mortal works cannot be compatible with the foundation of Christ, we would argue that neither even moderately bad works can be compatible with it. Now, since both these and those are being built upon the foundation of faith by many, not by just any common people, but even by teachers, both past and present, as it even happened to that teacher, it is clear. But the statement that "he

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will be saved" means nothing more than that he will survive, as the angel said to Job: "I am saved (I escaped); I alone have come to tell you," which does not in any way suggest that something good is being implied, as you might believe. This becomes clear from what the apostle added, fearing that anyone might think otherwise: "Yet so as through fire," meaning barely and with a wretched and deplorable condition. Then, using very strong words, he says: "Do you not know that you are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone destroys the temple of God, God will destroy him." At this point, the prayer takes an adverse turn, pronouncing that salvation through fire leads to destruction. Therefore, the question here is not about light sins, nor does he propose any advice regarding purification (for nothing of that sort is clearly mentioned), but about the most serious and mortal sins, such as fornication, which he calls the destruction of the temple of God, that is, the body. We therefore accept nothing absurd, as we fully follow Chrysostom's explanation. Nor is it surprising that some understand the apostle's words differently, for this often happens to teachers in nearly every part of Scripture, and it cannot happen that the same text, explained in different ways as we have previously said, can be equally applied to all meanings. It is necessary that some interpretations be more fitting and better achieve the goal of the text, which we believe the one we presented does, being aligned with the truth of the matter as judged.

23. I. In response to our arguments, from which we could have presented many points, we only briefly address a few. To the first, where we said that it is more consistent with divine goodness to not despise a small good than to punish a small sin, you responded that a small good cannot be rewarded if it perishes due to a mortal sin; for mortal sin destroys all good works done previously. However, lighter sins do not have the same effect, for in those who die in God's love, love itself cannot erase light sins, but only the mortal sin directly

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opposed to it, which takes away life, a life that love grants. This seems very strange, as if someone, a fuller, would say that deeply ingrained stains can be removed, but lighter stains, which have not penetrated the fabric as deeply, cannot. However, we indeed hear the prophet say: "If the righteous turn from his righteousness, all his righteousness will be forgotten." Similarly, we hear that on the day a sinner turns and groans, he will live and not die. Moreover, in the writings of the great Athanasius, such a question is raised: "If someone, after committing a serious sin, condemns himself and begins to do penance, and after three days dies, what should be thought of him? If, in beginning penance, he restrains himself from wicked thoughts and makes a covenant with God that he will not commit the same sins again, and dies the next day, God will accept his repentance, just as He did with the thief. Indeed, entering penance is within man's control, but whether he lives or dies is in God's hands. For God often takes those who have begun penance, so that He may gain them, being good, as He foresees that if they lived longer, they would fall again and perish." Similar things are said by blessed John Chrysostom in his homily on Philogonium: "I testify and guarantee that each of you, who are subject to sin, if you depart from your previous evils and truly promise to God that you will never return to them, nothing further is required by God for your excuse." Where, then, is the memory of punishment and purification? How many examples support this! The good thief, the publican who went down justified, David who, after committing sin and undergoing penance, remained a prophet, Manasseh freed from chains. Therefore, even more so, through charity and penance, both grave and light sins can be forgiven, just as mortal sins do not erase good works done before.

II. To the second, when we again said that if a small good cannot result in eternal life or avoiding eternal punishment when it perishes through mortal sin, neither can a small evil result in

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punishment, but only a difference in the retribution: You responded again in nearly the same way as before, namely, that a small good, when destroyed by mortal sin, does not merit retribution for eternal life or avoiding eternal punishment; however, a small evil must be purged according to God's judgment because of the excellence of the supreme beatitude and its purity. To this, we reply that we do not claim that small evil can be carried by those who are called to eternal happiness, but that it will be forgiven and pardoned by divine goodness and mercy, according to the exceptional teaching of the holy Dionysius. However, such persons should be affected by lesser glory than those who have committed no such evil, provided that we do not regard virtues and vices as equally balanced (for this is what the teachers affirm). As Gregory Theologus says in his speech in praise of the great Athanasius: "Then, when both word and deed and thought will be weighed in God's just balance, when He will rise to judge the earth, gathering counsel and works, and exposing those which He has hidden and sealed." Therefore, if good deeds and evil deeds are to be balanced (as He desires in His balance), the greater part must certainly prevail, and thus, before that day and time of judgment by fire, as you say, the evils are not purged, but rather remain, and at that time they will be manifested and exposed, and placed on the scale, so that the greater part will win, and the judgment will stand according to the weightier portion. Then, those who have departed from those evils will experience a difference in their enjoyment, but not an increase in punishment.

III. Thirdly, as we have said, the equity of eternal punishment is shown in this, that those who have sinned possess an unchangeable will to evil; and therefore, since they have an unchangeable will to avoid evil, it is unnecessary for them to be purified by this fire. — In response to this argument, you have said that it is not only the immutability of the right will that is required to obtain some measure

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of happiness, for this by itself is not enough, but that many other factors must also come together to establish good works and to attain the ultimate goal, factors which we do not necessarily need to consider in the case of evil; for evil arises from even the smallest individual sins. However, we did not say this according to our own opinion, nor has any of our learned doctors ever claimed that eternal punishment depends on the immutability of the perverse will, but your teacher Thomas, while refuting Origen's arguments, introduces this as a probable cause for the punishment being unchangeable, namely that the will is immutable. Thus, with your help, we said that it is not probable that the immutable will to good in those affected by it should lead to eternal punishment. If they are affected by this immutable will, they have departed this life, and if it remains immutable, why should eternal punishment be borne from it? What you have raised—that a good will is not sufficient by itself to establish good works and attain the ultimate goal—this we have said in the opposite sense, namely that even a perverse will is not enough to effect evil and to prepare the punishment that arises from it. For the one who wished to be wicked is not wicked by that wish alone, nor is he to be punished merely for that desire. Gregory the Theologian also says in his homily on the Holy Baptism: "If you think the one who only wished to kill should be condemned for murder, then you should also regard the one who only desired baptism as baptized." Therefore, if a good will is not sufficient for obtaining happiness, then neither is an eternal will for evil sufficient for eternal punishment. Hence, if this cause for eternal punishment is maintained, as Thomas thought, then the immutable good will in those who possess it will certainly be the cause of glory, or at least will not bring about punishment. For if opposites are causes of opposites, then, as Aristotle says, the cause of opposites is likewise opposite.

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IV. Again, regarding the fourth point, we said that the perfect reward for those who are pure in heart and mind, according to the Gospel, is to see God, and that not everyone will attain this equally; therefore, the purification process is not the same for everyone, and hence it is unnecessary to purify by purgatorial fire if the purification is imperfect in some. You have not fully resolved this argument by asserting that there are two kinds of purity and purification: one in the present life, accomplished through virtue and holiness, which is the cause of seeing God; and the other in the future life, through fire, by which venial sins are cleansed. First, because what we discussed has been accepted by you; secondly, because any purification or purgation, even if it is accomplished in this life through good virtue and conduct, surely removes some stain, i.e., sins, from those who apply it. If this is sufficient to cleanse and remove sins, then there will be no further penalty for those who are cleansed, and they will remain able to see God, that is, to receive the reward, according to the measure and manner of the virtues each has acted upon. However, if this purification is deficient, then in proportion to that deficiency, those less purified will see God less, as even happened on the mountain when the law was given. Hence, it follows that there will be no further purification after this life for those who have been imperfectly purified: if not, then all should be purified equally. However, we do not find this acceptable.

V. Likewise, from the statement of the great Gregory the Theologian in his homily on Pascha, where we had stated that there is no further purification after this life, you responded by stating that there are two kinds of purification of sins, one in this life through penance and satisfaction, the other after this life; the former, according to the saint, denies that there is purification after this life, but admits the latter, which you profess. If someone holds that there is no purification after this life, it is equivalent to claiming that there

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is purification, and therefore openly contradicting oneself. It is easy to resolve everything if one says that an animal is not a stone, and then we might say the same thing and then reverse it. Now, it is far from the saint's view, but after the two uses of Pascha, one in which nothing is to be carried out, and the other in which nothing should be left until the morning, he added two considerations: the first is that we should not carry anything forward, for it is not fitting to present part of our mysteries to others; and the second that we should leave nothing until the morning, meaning that any purification, whether through virtue and good works, through penance and penalties, or through the frequent performance of ecclesiastical rites, must be diligently carried out. Therefore, the two notions that there is no purification and that there is purification through fire are mutually contradictory and cannot both be true at the same time unless the contradiction itself implies a pact, which cannot happen.

VI. You argue similarly from the statement of the same Theologian from his homily on the Hail Mary, which is similar to the previous one, where he openly says that those who have not been purified here will be sent to that torment when the time of punishment arrives, not a time of purification. You assert that there is no longer any time for purification through penance, but only for punishment. We can easily solve everything by restricting general statements and saying that the man is not an animal, since the human described in literature is not an animal. If the saint had previously spoken of purification in this life through penance and good works, your assertion would seem somewhat relevant, even understanding purification in that way. But if he speaks, as it seems, of the punishments of this life, by which sinners are expurgated (for thus he says: "It is better to be chastised and purified now, than to be sent to that torment when the time for punishment will be, not

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purification"), then in this context, we must understand that purification occurs through chastisement and punishment.

VII. Regarding the seventh point, when we said that in the Gospel parable, where Lazarus is carried to Abraham's bosom, and the rich man is found in hell and tormented, there appears nowhere any third place where the souls of those who have lived moderately are purified, but rather a great, impassable gap is fixed, separating others from others, and setting a supreme and complete contradiction between them, you responded by saying that the parable does not concern souls that have just departed the body, but the ultimate boundaries of men, in which purgatory has no place, and therefore no mention of a third place for transitional purification appears. However, this perfectly aligns with our view. For if the parable concerns the ultimate boundaries, where there is no place for purgatory, then they have not yet reached their final end, whether just or unjust. So how could the middle ones, as soon as they have departed this life, be judged, tormented, and purified to attain their final end? But how does purgatory extend its influence when the worst of men are not yet tormented? Although the parable concerns the final end of both those who departed this life, it certainly shows the places they will occupy as soon as they leave this life, meaning that the rich man is found in hell while Lazarus is taken to Abraham's bosom. Therefore, if there were a third place, it would not have been omitted. We conclude that such a third place does not exist.

VIII. Regarding the eighth, when we said that it is not right for a soul, after leaving the body and becoming wholly incorporeal, to be tormented by corporeal fire, you conceded that no corporeal thing has power to affect an incorporeal being. However, you argue that it is possible through divine power, and there is nothing surprising about this. In response, you did not provide any argument proving this to be a real occurrence, but rather you suggest that it would be just if it

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happened, though perhaps not very probable. For one might retort, by twisting the argument, that the soul, since it has subjected itself to corporeal things through sin, should endure corporeal punishment as well: this would be more just, equitable, and fitting. However, when you introduce the parable, where the rich man's soul is said to be tormented by fire before the resurrection of his body, you are seen to contradict yourselves and undermine your own position, since you previously said that the parable only concerns the ultimate ends, not applying in the present. But now, you assert that the soul of the rich man suffers. As for the demons, we have not stated that they would assume a corporeal, airy, or fiery form to better bear their punishments, but that they were granted this after the fall and their attachment to this corporeal world, just as Adam, after violating the command, is said to have clothed himself in animal skins, taking on a coarser, mortal, and reluctant flesh. This is not our own statement, but comes from the great father Basil, as found in his commentaries on Isaiah.

IX. Concerning the ninth, we indeed said that no vision was reported by our holy fathers, nor any other miracle by which the indication of purgatorial fire might be provided. In contrast, you assert that many such deeds occur both in Gregory the Great and in others. To this we respond, confirming what was said at the beginning, that from such deeds no distinct and temporary fire, having the power to purify, can be deduced. Rather, our fathers, who sowed the seeds of heavenly conversation in the deserts, whether in Egypt or Palestine, did not explicitly declare such things, but they observed certain representations or images of future penalties, in which not those who committed lighter sins, but those who lived most impiously and wickedly, will be tormented. Gregory the Great, who seems to introduce purgatory, did not limit it to any one place,

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but rather refers to others being tortured and purified elsewhere, those who, as he says, have committed the smallest of sins.

X. Concerning the tenth and final point, when we had gathered this opinion, akin to the doctrine of Origen, and said that it, like the former, must be rejected because it brings about sluggishness and weakness in the soul, as it expects a further purgation, you again responded by repeating what you had said earlier, asserting that this doctrine does not make people negligent, but rather urges them to be vigilant, as they dread the most intense and intolerable pains of purgatory. But we, pressing what we have said, maintain that no temporary punishment, even though the sharpest of all in the mind, will deter those prone to vice. Rather, they will either gradually fall into Origen's view, regarding any punishment as temporary, or, by some distinction, they will scorn this temporary punishment, as pleasure is fleeting, while virtue is rough and arduous. Thus, they will consider it more fitting and superior to submit to future uncertainty, unaware of what judgment will be passed on our deeds, or care whether these are fully dismissed by appropriate penance, or whether they will remain to be manifest at the day of judgment, since they are fully convinced that they will one day achieve complete purification. For the Lord in the Gospel says, "he who calls his brother a fool will not be thrown into purgatory, but into hell", and concerning idle words, he declares that we will give account in judgment, not that these will be cleansed by fire. Therefore, that more than purgatory terrifies and moves us to penance, namely, that by offending God and violating His commandments, we make ourselves liable to judgment and eternal punishments. Thus, it is fitting, as we believe, that the purgatorial fire, which your doctors say exists immediately after death, should be interpreted in a mystical sense, rather than taken as something corporeal, even though they, yielding to the times, may have asserted this. In this way, the soul, being spiritual and devoid of

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matter, will receive an appropriate and fitting punishment. Thus, by agreeing with the truth itself, we will give unanimous praise to Him who is the truth, to Christ our God, to whom all glory, honor, and worship are due, with His eternal Father and the most holy Spirit, now and forever, and throughout all ages. Amen.

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RESPONSE OF MARK, ARCHBISHOP OF EPHESUS, TO THE FINAL QUESTIONS OF THE LATINS CONCERNING THE FIRE OF PURGATORY.

1. Since you ask us to respond more clearly and openly to the questions you have raised, I will briefly address the first question (which you added in your request), namely how we should understand that the souls of the saints have not yet attained their proper and blessed condition. We affirm that the enjoyment and happiness of the saints, which they now experience, having been freed from their bodies, is in some way imperfect and lacking, regardless of whether one wishes to call it the vision of God, participation in God, communion, the kingdom of heaven, or some other similar thing. We have demonstrated through the testimonies of Scriptures and the authority of the doctors that this condition is incomplete, awaiting the restoration that is hoped for. As to why we hold this view, we have proposed several plausible reasons: either that God has judged it fitting for souls to be endowed with incomplete glory without bodies, which fought alongside them, or that it does not befit each individual saint to receive the rewards of their works one by one, but rather all are to be perfected together according to the divine Apostle, to

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receive their crowns simultaneously and to be proclaimed in the presence of the whole universe. This may also be due to some other reason that God knows in His ineffable judgment. From these points, we deduce that the enjoyment and vision the saints now possess is indeed more perfect than the pledge they received in this life, but not yet as complete as what is hoped for in the future.

2. As for your second question, what we mean when we say that the saints are with God in heaven and with the angels: We profess that heaven is not some bodily place where we suppose angels dwell, but rather a super-sensible and spiritual place, if this term may be allowed, a place most fittingly called the dwelling of God. John Damascene writes in the 13th chapter of his theological work: "The place of God is that in which His action is exerted." And again: "The place of God is that which more abundantly participates in His operation and grace." Therefore, heaven is His seat, for there are angels who do His will. Again, it is a spiritual place where intellectual and incorporeal nature exists and is understood. Thus, in this place, which is above the heavens and above the world, intelligible and incorporeal, we hold that both angels and saints are contained. We call this place heaven, firmly believing that God is present, manifested, and working in it, taking this from the Lord's words: "Our Father who art in heaven" and again, "The face of my Father who is in heaven." Just as intellectual natures are close to divinity and can be understood through the mind alone, while all others are alien, subject to the senses, in the words of Gregory the Theologian, so the place of God and the world in which intellectual natures are contained is nearer, created first according to the same theologian's teaching. In contrast, our world, which surrounds the earth, is far removed. Therefore, the greatest manifestations of God are said to have occurred through the splitting or opening of the heavens, indicating that from those super-celestial regions, God has descended whenever He has willed to make

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Himself known to men. From that place to this corporeal world, we say that angels are sent by God to perform some ministry, and they cannot be present both here and there at the same time. Just as they perform their duties when they are there, assisting God, contemplating Him, and praising Him, so likewise, when they are here, they perform their duties, though they rest for a time from that highest contemplation and appearance. John Damascene again writes, in his work on the place of God: "An angel is not contained in a place like a body, receiving form and figure, yet he is said to be in a place because in a spiritual way he is present and acts, as is fitting to his nature; nor is he elsewhere, but he is in that intelligible place where he works. For it is not possible for him to act in different places at the same time; only God can work everywhere at once." Therefore, according to this theologian's view, an angel cannot act simultaneously in different places, nor can he, when present in heaven, perform corporeal tasks. Likewise, when he converses with us and works on our behalf, he cannot simultaneously contemplate and praise God in the manner he does in heaven, but he must withdraw for a time from that operation, even though briefly. Indeed, if he stands before God's throne, he would cease contemplating God, for being sent by God, he would cease seeing Him, not because He is not everywhere to be seen, but because He who would be seen has turned elsewhere to perform some other task. This matter is quite clear unless one wishes to argue. Who would say that the angel, while striking down the Assyrians, was both standing before God and contemplating and praising Him at the same time? For this reason, the Lord did not say in the Gospel that "their angels always see," but rather that "their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven." When they are in heaven, He says, they always see the face of Him who is seen in heaven. Thus, if they were not in heaven, they would not see His face, for He does not reveal Himself

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in corporeal things. Moreover, the great Dionysius, in chapter 15 of the Celestial Hierarchy, assigns to angels three general operations distinct from each other: "To turn towards the higher, that is, to contemplate God purely, each according to his state and order; to reflect upon themselves and preserve their own virtues, that is, to understand and move themselves; and finally, to diffuse themselves and make others partakers of their provident virtue, that is, to care for and provide for the lower." Therefore, they do not perform one continuous task of contemplating God in the same manner. If anyone thinks they lose some happiness because they do not always purely contemplate God alone, but are required to perform some other task, what a pitiable and narrow estimate of happiness! To suppose that happiness is so easily lost and confined to a single continuous work, as if they cannot turn aside for a moment to something else. How can they fall from happiness, who are said to participate in the first light and listen to His voice, do His will, and carry out their whole operation either towards God or according to God? For these reasons, we rightly say that the saints do not fully enjoy the vision and fruition of God for this reason: that they return to the corporeal world, take care of their fellow beings, and often dwell with us, performing miracles through their relics, and appearing to those who invoke them, wherever people may be. It is not possible for them to undertake such tasks and help those who call upon them while simultaneously enjoying that vision sincerely. Yet, from this, it does not follow that they are less happy than we are, since even a small portion of that divine grace, by whose power they can accomplish so many things, is enough to procure the greatest happiness. This is perhaps the reason why the divine Apostle, after describing all that will happen in the future resurrection, when the living will be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, adds: "And so we shall always be with the Lord," showing that the saints do not yet always

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dwell with the Lord, since they tend towards the body, which the soul naturally desires to receive, and return to the world to care for their fellow beings. This concurs with the words of the blessed Dionysius: "When we have become incorruptible and immortal, having attained the Christiform blessed state (which will certainly happen in the future age), then we shall always be with the Lord, as it is written." Thus, the perfect vision and enjoyment of God, and eternal communion with Him, is reserved for that future age, after this world has passed.

3. The third difficulty was this: by what name should we call that blessed vision, which the saints now enjoy? Is it the one through the "mirror," as the Apostle calls it, or do the saints behold God as He is? To this we reply that the divine essence can in no way be seen, conceived, or known by any created nature, not even by the most distinguished minds among the immaterial beings. For that which is known as it is, must be comprehended by the knower. But God is comprehended by no one, for He is, by His nature, incomprehensible. To prove this, the great John Chrysostom delivered long and excellent sermons against the Anomoeans, who boasted that they knew God according to His essence. In his first book against Eunomius, the great Basil also speaks to them, saying: "What then, he asks, will be the excellence left to the knowledge of the Only-Begotten or the Holy Spirit, if they themselves comprehend the very essence? For the power, goodness, and wisdom of God, attributed to the Only-Begotten, are not believed to be suitable for understanding the essence. For, it is contrary to nature that the essence itself should be comprehensible to anyone except the Only-Begotten and the Holy Spirit. But we, who are carried by God's operations, and through those things that were created, understand the Creator, and by this we can perceive His goodness and wisdom. For it is known that God has manifested Himself to all men." The testimony of the golden John in

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his homilies on the Seraphim is also clear on this: "For whose grace, he writes, do they veil their faces and extend their wings? Is it not because they cannot bear the radiance of His throne and those shining rays? And yet they were not veiling the pure light itself nor the substance, but it was a lowering, the appearance that could be seen. What does this lowering mean? When God appears, not as He is in Himself, but in a manner that is suitable for those who have the ability to see, He reveals Himself, adjusting the vision according to the weakness of the perceiver..." He goes on: "Therefore, although the prophet says: 'I saw the Lord sitting on a throne,' do not think that this is the very substance that was seen, but the lowering, and it was seen in a way that is more obscure than what the higher powers can perceive." The same is affirmed by Gregory Nyssen in his commentary on the Beatitudes: "Divine nature, whatever it is according to essence, surpasses all comprehension and skill." Blessed Augustine, in Chapter 31 of his Soliloquies, says: "For what is incontemplatable, invisible, superrational, superintelligible, superinaccessible, and superincommutable, and believed to be superessential, is not something that any angel or man has ever seen, nor can it be seen." And a little later: "The Holy Trinity, and supernumerable (meaning super-miraculous), and super-inexpressible, and super-inscrutable, and super-inaccessible, and super-incomprehensible, and super-intelligible, and super-essential, surpassing all sense, reason, intellect, intelligence, and essence of the heavenly souls: which neither the Cherubim nor Seraphim perfectly know, but whose face is veiled by the wings of their contemplation." Therefore, according to the teachings of these doctors, the nature of God cannot even be seen by the angels, and His essence escapes the gaze of all except the Only-Begotten Word and the Holy Spirit. It is impossible for it to be seen by the saints, whether in this world or in the future. So what is it, one might ask, that the saints see, if they do not behold God according to

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His essence? It is that which the angels see, reply the doctors, and first among the angels. "In ineffable glory," it says, "the Seraphim enjoy, contemplating His incomprehensible beauty. He reveals Himself as much as the one who has the ability to see can bear." What do they see? They see that which they participate in. But they do not participate in the essence itself (God forbid!). By what means, then, do they participate in God? Listen to the most divine Maximus, who teaches about that participation: "Although He is in no way able to be shared by things in His essence, He wishes to share according to another mode with those who can participate." And He never exceeds His essential mystery or hidden reason; for the mode by which He is shared remains forever inexplicable to all. Do you hear this? He Himself said it; do not inquire too curiously into other matters, but may you learn the truth through experience, or rather feel it, if you are worthy. "For that splendor of truth, which we now draw in small measure, tends," says Gregory the Theologian, "to make us see and feel God's clarity, worthy of Him who both constrains and releases, and again will constrain and release in a more excellent and sublime way." Thus, just as Dionysius the Great said, so also this doctor, after that sublime and divine union is completed, is bound by the hope and desire to see and feel God's clarity. Therefore, a distinction exists between visions, some of which are called through faith, others through a mirror and in riddles, others through species, and others face to face. None of these, however, allow the nature of God to be comprehended fully. Indeed, Moses is said to have met God face to face and spoke with Him, through a "species" and not through riddles. Yet no one stood in God's substance or essence, as Scripture speaks, nor did anyone ever see or reveal God's nature, but the Only-Begotten Son Himself declared it. As for the visions we have mentioned, nothing prevents one from being more perfect than the other. Hence, the most perfect vision is considered to be the one hoped for after the

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complete restoration of all things; the others, however, can be compared with each other in some way. Therefore, it is not surprising that we say that the saints now see God through a species, in comparison to this present life, as they see more perfectly. This vision is less perfect than that which will come after the judgment, which alone can truly be called "face to face," as Blessed Augustine attests in Chapter 19 of Book XIV of *De Trinitate*, writing: "The image that is renewed in the spirit of the mind in the knowledge of God, will not be perfected outwardly, but inwardly day by day, and will be completed by that vision, which will be after the judgment, face to face, while now it progresses through a mirror in a riddle. Therefore, the perfect completion of this will be understood when it is said, 'Come, you blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you.'"

4. Furthermore, you asked what is that brightness shining from God, by which we say the saints enjoy themselves in heaven. Indeed, we have already spoken about it, as far as it is fitting for someone who has not learned the matter by experience, but has taken it from the writings of the saints: from which nothing more will be said at this time, except what they themselves say. Moreover, the learned architect of the Heavenly Ladder, that John the Divine, when he defines it (he calls it illustration), says this: "It is an ineffable kind of illumination, which is not seen by seeing, but is understood in a hidden way." Have you heard the definition? Do not inquire further; we do not wish nor are we able to speak about things that cannot be seen or understood.

5. Fifthly, when you asked what we understand by the kingdom of God and those ineffable goods, to the perfect enjoyment of which the saints have not yet arrived, we already replied at that time, and now we say that the kingdom of God is thus defined by the very great Maximum: "The kingdom of God is the good that is

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naturally in God, imparted by grace." As for the goods which the Apostle says cannot be seen by the eye, nor heard by the ear, nor conceived by the mind of man, we, as human beings, do not dare to inquire curiously; we think it better for those who have learned by experience to explain to us what those goods are by their nature, rather than for us to try to demonstrate them with reason, which exceeds reason itself. However, both this and that are equally impossible; for, as it is said, how can I describe the sweetness of honey to the ignorant? However, these things seem not only to differ in name but also in reality. And indeed, they rightly do so. For if the threat to sinners involves not only the privation of God but also some kind of Gehenna and other punishments, it is fitting that for the saints there should be not only one vision of God but also other goods, which are mystically mentioned in the Scriptures; of which the Lord himself says in the Gospel according to John, "I came that they might have life, and have it more abundantly," calling eternal life that life of which he says, "This is eternal life, that they may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent," but by the word "abundantly" he signifies the other goods by which the saints will enjoy themselves.

6. Concerning the sixth, as it was written by you, so we have said and now say. The souls of those who die in mortal sin, we say, are indeed in hell, confined as if in a prison and a dungeon, but not yet subjected to the flames of hell; they have, however, a foretaste of them. Moreover, they see it and stand waiting, while they are no doubt overwhelmed with the most bitter sorrow.

7. The seventh question, moreover, was this: how the souls of the saints are filled with the greatest joy and delight when they have not yet obtained those ineffable goods. We answer that the part of those goods which has already been given is indeed a supreme pleasure for them, since they see God without any intermediary, as

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the angels themselves contemplate him; and as for the goods that are yet to be given, they have such a certain hope that it is enough to fill them with certain joy. Moreover, when this occurred to their minds, we also made mention of the three virtues: namely, faith, hope, and charity. All of these are indeed perfected in this life; however, since there is a threefold condition of human beings—whether they are to be considered in this life, or after they have departed, or in the future age—we think that each condition corresponds to one of these virtues, which is perfected in it. Faith, then, is the work of this present age; for by faith we walk, and all the saints pleased God by faith. Hope, on the other hand, is exercised after they have passed from here; for in this life, it is connected with fear, and Paul himself fears, lest after he has preached to others, he himself should be found unworthy; but after the completion of the spectacle and the period of the contest, rewards are at hand, except for one thing, which is not yet present, and the crown of justice remains to be obtained. But the joy that arises from hope, the great Apostle Paul declares, for he says: "Rejoicing in hope." Charity remains, which is the most perfect of virtues and the greatest of all those fruits, the summit of all spiritual fruit. Hence, it is held that the works of the future age are solely by charity, as by it the saints are united and joined to God, with hope and faith having ceased.

8. Furthermore, you asked the eighth question, whether the lack of divine vision for the damned is a greater punishment than eternal fire, and whether the damned are already tormented by such punishment. To this, we answered that it is indeed a greater and heavier punishment than all others, since it is the cause and foundation of the others. Moreover, it will be much greater and more grievous after that final and most severe sentence, when it will be pronounced: "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire." For then, seeing God, as much as they are able, they will no longer hope

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ever to see him again; and because they have provoked such a Lord to wrath, they will be tormented with the most severe sorrow.

9. Also, concerning the ninth question about the punishments we say the wicked will suffer, you asked whether all the punishments will affect them equally, such as ignorance, sorrow, the shame of conscience, and others. To this, we also said, as you wrote, that such punishments, according to the various and unequal sins of people, will fall all at once on some, while on others, there will be different ones, and on some, they will be greater, on others, smaller.

10. To the tenth question, when you asked what we understand by uncertainty about the future, we replied that such uncertainty should be understood according to the time when they will be freed from those punishments and counted among the saved. Regarding the shame of conscience, which is the eleventh question posed by you, we answered that from every sin that has not been dissolved by penance, some shame and torment will be inflicted upon the soul conscious of its guilt. Indeed, that adversary, with whom the Lord commands us to be reconciled in the Gospels, is our conscience, which admonishes us about the sins we have committed, retraces the reasons, and afflicts the soul with disgrace. Thus, if thorough and perfect penance is made, both the sin itself and the punishment due for it are forgiven, and nothing prevents one who has passed away from being counted among the saved; but if penance is incomplete, and not fitting for the sins committed, the sin will not be forgiven, and therefore the punishment will remain for those who have passed in this way, not because they retained the remission, but because they could not pay the penalty.

11. Indeed, we commit many such sins every day, which we either do not at all or do not sufficiently sincerely atone for through penance, nor repay with good works in equal measure. Therefore, many of these will indeed be forgiven by divine kindness at the time

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of death or after death, according to the great Dionysius among the saints; others, however, are cleansed through almsgiving, prayers, and other works, whatever the Church customarily does for the dead.

12. Furthermore, you inquired about the relaxation of the damned, which we said would benefit them through the prayers of the Church; how it should be considered. — We responded according to the judgment of our fathers, that comfort is given to the damned, while they remain in the torments in which they were previously, and that they are not fully liberated from them. However, it greatly benefits those unfortunate souls that they receive at least some slight and temporary relief. As for the demons, we said that if not all, at least some, perhaps the more violent ones, were cast down with the damned as in a prison and dungeon, according to the apostle Peter's judgment, who pronounces that "angels, when they sinned, God did not spare, but cast them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." When asked what these chains might be, we replied that they could be understood as the cessation of those evils which they previously exercised upon humans, yet they are still bound to eternal punishment, though not fully subject to it at the moment. For it is added that they are "reserved unto judgment," meaning that they will be fully subjected to punishment at the final judgment.

13. The thirteenth question you posed was what the small and light sins were by which the intermediate souls are held. Upon being informed, we said that these are what you call venial sins, like idle words and such others. You asked whether it could be that these remain in those who died in charity, as we hold the opinion that charity, which covers greater sins, also wipes away the lesser ones. However, this is not our view, nor is it recognized by us even by name: we say that sins are forgiven not by charity, but by penance itself. This is clearly deduced from the fact that John Chrysostom, although he frequently and broadly discusses penance in his sermons, where one

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penitent follows another of the same name, and expounds its power and virtue abundantly, never mentions charity as something found in penitents. And justly so. For if fear is absent in charity, then one who fears cannot die in charity. But fear, as we know, most urgently incites us to penance: hence it follows that penance is more excellent than charity, which is the most perfect of virtues, and is not fitting for penitents but for those endowed with exceptional virtue. Therefore, we did not propose this opinion from ourselves, but rather we contradicted your assertion that serious and mortal sins can be wiped away by charity, but lesser ones cannot be removed by it. Regarding penance, we explain that penance, when it is about things that are sins, can wipe them away, even if they are very serious, provided the person sincerely repents. But those who have no care about their sins—because they have either regarded them as trivial or have forgotten them—will not see them erased, though they seem light, but will need God's mercy, granted through the prayers of the Church, to be included among the saved.

14. The fourteenth and final question was whether we impose satisfactions on penitents, and for what reason. — We say, therefore, that the remission of sins and absolution should not be granted to us, by the power given to us by God, until satisfactions have been imposed, but we do not grant remission without such penalties. We do this for many reasons. First, so that the sinner, by voluntarily undergoing this discomfort in this life, may avoid the punishment in the afterlife: "For no worship is more pleasing to God than affliction," says Gregory the Theologian, "and kindness is repaid with tears." Second, so that the carnal sense, prone to pleasure and from which all hatred of God and sin arise, may be redirected by this laborious method: for, as the saying goes, opposites are cured by opposites, and it is necessary that pleasure be eradicated through pain. Third, so that the satisfaction imposed on the soul acts like chains and

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bridles, to prevent the same sins from being committed in the future. Fourth, since virtue is naturally a difficult thing, those who wish to reach it must be accustomed to labor, just as they fell into sin through pleasure. Fifth, so that the penitent, by accepting the satisfaction imposed, gives us evidence that they truly follow the hatred of sin. And these are the reasons for imposing satisfactions, though there may be others. We omit these when some are about to leave this life due to imminent death, considering that the two conditions—namely, the conversion of the penitent and their sincere resolution to pursue virtue—are sufficient for remission of sins. Therefore, we remit sins according to the power granted to us, believing that they are forgiven by God both in terms of the guilt itself and the penalty that must be borne. For "whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." With this faith, we administer the divine gift of the Eucharist to those near death, as the act of sincere repentance is within the control of the sinner; yet the completion of satisfaction is in God's judgment, for He removes the sinner from this life, and therefore, like a merciful king, for His own mercy, grants remission to the sinner, as He did to the thief, who, on the verge of death, asked Christ to remember him in His kingdom, and the most generous Lord granted him paradise.

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TO THE WORKS OF MARK EUGENIKOS AGAINST REUNION OF THE GREEK & LATIN CHURCH

If the union promulgated in Florence on July 6, 1439, remained almost a dead letter for the entire East, it is mainly due to the systematic opposition of the lower clergy and the monks, who had as their spokesperson the only prelate who had obstinately refused to sign in Florence, the famous Mark of Ephesus. Upon his return to Constantinople on February 1, 1440, Mark strongly opposed the agreement; he attacked with virulence all the signatories of the union decree and sought to bring back to their original positions those who had submitted not so much out of conviction but out of political necessity and pressure. It took little for him to become the oracle and idol of the people, in the eyes of whom he became a hero and a saint. For these reasons, we thought that a booklet, where all the anti-council writings of the fanatical Archbishop of Ephesus would be grouped in a methodical order, would be well received by our readers. Among these violent diatribes, through which he relentlessly tried to suffocate any desire for reconciliation in the hearts of his compatriots, some have already been published, but in editions that no longer meet the demands of our time; others appear here for the first time. In all,

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however, the same inspiration is found: fierce, blind, and irreducible hatred of the union and its supporters. Without fearing repetition, the author continuously presents the same arguments, even if they have been refuted a hundred times, even if they are devoid of any dogmatic value. Any person of good faith will agree: while some of Mark's arguments seem plausible, even serious, most are astonishingly childish, and one is surprised to see the author return to them again and again, without the slightest concern for the solutions provided, during the council, by the Latin theologians, or in the past, by the Greeks themselves, several of whom had already responded to Mark of Ephesus by refuting the controversialists he had relied upon. The only merit of Mark, if there is any, is that he presented the grievances of his predecessors in a concise, forceful manner, capable of impressing crowds unfamiliar with these matters of high speculation. We will reproduce Mark's texts, good or bad, sincere or hypocritical, with equal care, as it is important to fully understand the sources from which the enemies of the union in the East, still so numerous after five centuries, have drawn.

Our series opens with a speech to Pope Eugene IV, written in a strange manner; it is easy to roughly date it, thanks to a curious page from Syropoulos. Since the solemn session of April 9, in Ferrara, Greeks and Latins had continued to observe each other, without addressing any discussion on the disputed points, much to the displeasure of Eugene IV, whose budget was becoming heavier and more crushing each day for the papal treasury, which had to bear the costs of maintaining the Easterners. To ease their forced leisure, some influential cardinals hosted many receptions. The patriarch, it is true, had forbidden his subordinates from responding to Latin invitations deemed compromising, but this prohibition was not without some exceptions, as the Greeks, by nature, were curious. Thus, one day, Mark of Ephesus, his brother the nomophylax John Eugenikos, and

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Dorotheus, Metropolitan of Mytilene, attended a lavish banquet held in their honor by the famous Cardinal Giulio Caesarini, the very one whom Mark would have as his main antagonist in the public debates of the council. The conversation revolved around various topics, mainly philosophy, as was customary at the time. When the guests were about to take their leave, Caesarini suggested to the Archbishop of Ephesus that he write an address to the Pope, thanking him for his efforts in convening the council and urging him to continue on the path he had started, despite the apparent difficulties. Mark, who had not expected such a proposal, hesitated for a moment; however, he finally agreed, and it is precisely this address, almost unknown to Western historians, that can be found later, under number VII. Whether Caesarini was well inspired to push his guest of the day into such an act of deference towards Eugene IV, I will not venture to say. Perhaps he did not fully appreciate this eloquent page, for instead of sending it to its august recipient, he showed it to the emperor. The latter immediately entered into a violent anger, and the patriarch was the first to bear the brunt of it. "By what right," he repeated, "did the bishops act as they pleased and risk compromising him with the Latins through such inconsiderate actions?" He even wanted to open an investigation against the Archbishop of Ephesus and have him judged by the synod; but he ended up withdrawing after some remonstrances from a few prelates, particularly Bessarion. It is in the first days of May 1438, shortly after the funeral of the Archbishop of Sardis (April 24), that, according to Syropoulos' report, this curious incident must be placed, and the composition of the little literary work it provoked. It is less a compliment than a haughty lesson addressed to the Pope by the fiery champion of Greek orthodoxy. If he came to the council, it was certainly not to change his mind, but to heal the West of its errors. He only mentions two errors: the addition to the creed and the use of unleavened bread; but with the tone he

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adopts, the audacity with which he places the full responsibility of the schism on the Pope of Rome, one can easily guess the inner sentiments that motivated him. As such, the document deserved to be brought fully into the light, freed from the superfluous additions that Callistus Blastos, its first editor, had burdened it with.

A Greek scholar, Archimandrite Andronic Demetropoulos, whose leisure time was almost entirely devoted to collecting the writings of his compatriots hostile to the Roman Church from the libraries of Germany and Russia, had discovered in two manuscripts from the Synodal Library of Moscow the following work by Mark of Ephesus: Συλλογή χρήσεων γραφικῶν, ὅτι ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, δοθείσα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ θεοστέπτῳ βασιλεῖ τῷ Παλαιολόγῳ, καθὼς παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ βασιλείας προσετάγη. The compilation itself is preceded by a letter to the emperor, which begins: Ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς φροντίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας μέλει τῷ ἐνθέῳ κράτει σου, θεοφρούρητε, θεόστεπτε, νέε Κωνσταντίνε, ἅγιε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ζήτησιν ἡ ἁγία βασιλεία σου ἔθετο τοῦ ἐπισωρευθῆναι χρήσεις γραφικὰς, παριστώσας ὅτι τὸ θεῖον καὶ ζωαρχικόν Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου ἐκπορεύεται κτλ. To address the sovereign in such terms full of deference, Mark must not yet have broken with him. The work was therefore composed during the council itself, before the return to Constantinople of the emperor and the prelates who had accompanied him. For this reason, the work should appear in our collection of monuments related to the council. But since Russia remained closed to us, it was impossible to consult the manuscripts from Moscow, and the catalogues of other fonds remained silent about this work by Mark of Ephesus. After knocking in vain at the doors of the main libraries, I had given up for the moment on publishing this Sylloge, when a manuscript from the Ambrosian Library of Milan, No. 653, fortunately provided the sought-after

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document. It does not, indeed, contain the letter to the emperor, but it is clearly the collection that Demetracopoulos had found in the Moscow manuscripts. Although Mark's name does not appear in the Ambrosian manuscript at the beginning of the work we are concerned with, it can be found in the index placed at the head of the volume. The leaf containing this index is completely torn at the upper left corner; but, by a rare stroke of luck, the preserved part begins as follows: ... Εφέσου κυρ Μάρκουσ συλλογαί, ὡς συνέλεξεν ἐκ τε προφητῶν καὶ εὐαγγελίων, ἀποστόλων τε καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. This wording, which is in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, cleared up all doubts, and in the absence of the Moscow volumes, the Milan manuscript has now provided us with a compilation, the importance of which should not be exaggerated, but which is not without interest: it constitutes, so to speak, the arsenal from which Mark would stock up for his dogmatic duels with the Latin theologians. One can sense the improvisation, the *opus tumultuarium*, both in the repetition of certain texts and in the disorder in which they are presented. Incompatible with the careful work of a scholarly cabinet, these features can easily be explained by the necessities of the near-daily struggles during the stormy sessions in Florence. Thus, I did not hesitate, despite the absence of the letter to the emperor which would explain its origin, to include this work here under No. VIII, with references to the original works of the Fathers, except for two or three, which I have not yet succeeded in finding. I had long hoped to find a copy of the Moscow manuscripts, with the text of the letter to the emperor, either among Demetracopoulos' papers or among those of Nicephorus Calogeras, the former Orthodox bishop of Patras, who had also used the Moscow manuscripts. But despite strong recommendations, I was unable to obtain any information on this matter, except for the invitation to go see for myself. A visit, I confess, might have yielded

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the desired result; but the distance was such that I did not dare undertake it without the certainty that it would not be in vain. The reader will find, under No. IX, a substantial compilation, certainly the one in which Mark employed all the resources of his dialectic. He boasted of being firm in syllogisms, but he had, in this kind of sport, so many predecessors that we find no originality in this long series of arguments. Since Photius and Nicetas of Byzantium, the system had been used and overused throughout the Byzantine Middle Ages. What is surprising about Mark is the art, or rather the flexibility, with which he repeats the same arguments a hundred times without seeming to do so. But his dialectic, despite the apparent richness of the formulas, is extremely poor. It lives only on sophisms, perpetual ambiguities; only, everything is built in a way that gives the impression of a solid construction. Georges Scholarios first, before taking the sophisms of Mark for his own, and Bessarion later, have shown the fragility of the monument in pages where theological science, compared to that of Mark, shows an overwhelming superiority. Joseph Hergenröther edited, with the refutation of these two scholars, a good part of Mark's work: thirty-nine chapters out of fifty-six. However, in Hergenröther's edition, the general order of the chapters is completely disrupted, the editor having based his work not on Mark's own work, but on that of his opponents, among whom the original order was not preserved for reasons I need not examine here. It was therefore necessary to produce a new edition of this work, which would include the chapters omitted by Hergenröther and respect the original arrangement of the author. The German editor might have noticed the gaps in his work had he known of three editions preceding his, published during the seventeenth century. However, God forbid I should criticize him for ignoring them; it is so difficult, even today, despite more frequent communications, to inquire about publications from the Greek East, and once informed,

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to obtain them! I mention this detail, less to criticize Hergenröther, than to show the esteem in which the Orthodox world has always held Mark's Syllogisms. Moreover, the three editions I refer to and which will be mentioned later, have become so rare that to consult a chapter of Mark not published in Migne, one might as well go directly to the manuscripts. The edition we present to the public, while constituting a useful complement to Migne's Patrology, will simultaneously save the reader from having to search for the rarities of Seraphim of Pisidia, Koutounios, or Eugene Bulgaris.

Migne also published, under the care of the same Hergenröther, the small Dialogue of Marc on the addition of the Filioque to the Creed, reproduced later under No. X; but by a method that is surprising for such a serious editor as Hergenröther, it is horribly truncated, without a clear reason for these mutilations. If Marc's text, compared to other pages of the author contained in the same volume of the Patrology, did not provide any new argument and was redundant, it would have been better to leave it in the discreet shadow of libraries; but to bring it out of oblivion, it should have been reproduced in its entirety. This is what I have tried to do here, with the help of a good manuscript from our National Library. Marc undoubtedly repeats himself, but one can say the same for each of his works. This observation, far from stopping us, should encourage us to publish them all: through the constant repetition, one will better see the poverty of the arguments.

In the Introduction to the first volume of this collection, I wrote that the ten syllogisms on Purgatory, contained in a manuscript from Moscow, should be identical to those in Marc's second discourse in Ferrara, and thus did not form a distinct work. This statement is only partially true, as will be shown under No. XI with the edition of these ten syllogisms from a copy in Constantinople by M. X. Siderides. The works of Marc mentioned here mostly focus on the

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Procession of the Holy Spirit and the addition of the Filioque to the Creed—an irritating question that occupied nearly all the public sessions of the Council of Florence. In the pamphlet reproduced under No. XII, Marc addresses another point in the Greco-Latin controversy, that of the epiclesis, or the consecratory formula of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The issue of the debate is known. Does the transubstantiation, or the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, occur by the very words of Christ: "This is my body, this is my blood," or only by the invocation to the Holy Spirit, which the Eastern liturgies place after the narration of the institution? Contrary to Catholic doctrine, which attributes the change to Christ's words, the schismatics of the East today believe that the change occurs by virtue of the Epiclesis. Marc of Ephesus contributed significantly to spreading this error among his compatriots by composing his treatise on the epiclesis, which has been reprinted several times since Claude de Saintes first published it in Paris in 1560, in his precious collection of Primitive Liturgies. Although already known, this treatise by Marc should be included here, as it was composed in Florence itself at the end of the council, when this question was deliberated. At least this is what Syropoulos, an eyewitness, affirms, adding this interesting detail that it was at the express request of the emperor that Marc wrote his treatise. Bessarion made a scholarly reply; it is still unpublished in its text, but it will eventually appear in this collection of conciliar documents. For one would be wrong to believe that the Council of Florence only counted adversaries among the Greeks. While the attack directed against the august assembly by the Archbishop of Ephesus was harsh, passionate, and hateful, the defense, even by a Bessarion, was at times quite sharp and without mercy, as the opponent was manifestly suffering from an incurable disease: obstinacy. One hastens to challenge the antagonist when one has lost

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hope of convincing them. In the three documents placed under Nos. XIII, XIV, and XV, Marc attacks with extreme violence, not just a specific doctrinal point defined in Florence, but the council itself. He strikes hard and fast, without regard for propriety, even truth. He especially despises the Greek-Catholics, for whom he has no expressions of contempt sufficient; he calls them Greco-Latins and Latinizers; he goes so far as to call them half-beasts, like the centaurs of the fable. However, aside from the insults, there is nothing in these virulent pamphlets that the author has not already repeated elsewhere. Directed directly against the assembly of Florence, two of these documents, Nos. XIV and XV, have long been included in collections of the councils, but divided and somewhat cut up into small sections, separated by the twofold refutation of Gregory the Protosyncellus and Joseph of Methone. As for No. XIII, already known in the East through its publication in anti-Catholic works, it had only been made accessible to Western readers by the edition of Joseph Hergenröther in Migne's *Patrology*, where it appears fragment by fragment, accompanied by the refutation of Gregory the Protosyncellus, just like the two others. All three appear here in their normal and continuous form, no longer split into separate segments; good manuscripts have helped us improve the text, but we could not consult all those who have preserved it, as their number is considerable. The reader will find listed at the beginning of each of them the editions prior to ours, as well as the manuscripts we used. I purposely avoid all details of pure bibliography in this introduction; they will be better placed at the beginning of each document. By its nature, document XIII is strictly dogmatic. Devoid of any reference to contemporary events or the council's discussions, it sets forth in concise and dense formulas the Eastern belief regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The author calls upon most of the Fathers of the Greek Church, quoting either a phrase or a complete

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text, but he deliberately avoids any citation from the Western Fathers, declaring with pride not to know them, since they wrote in Latin, as if the Greeks did not habitually write in Greek; he adds that if their texts are favorable to the Latin thesis, it is because they have been falsified by the Latins. And that's it! It is no more complicated than that! Although composed during the stormy private deliberations held by the Greeks during the months of May and June 1439, this profession of faith was made public only after the return of the Archbishop of Ephesus to the East. A recent biographer of Marc, the monk Calliste Blastos, assures us that it was pronounced in Ferrara on December 8, in the 15th session of the council. Nothing in the sources we possess supports such an assertion.

In No. XIV, Marc, after briefly recalling the origin and history of the council, explains the reasons that prevent him from accepting the decree of union. Then he attacks the Latinizers, whom he considers the sole cause, in his view, of the sad outcome of an assembly that had been inaugurated under favorable auspices, according to this good apostle. But the Easterners quickly unmasked the hidden motives of the Latins, he claims, and the council had tragically failed. There had even been, among the Easterners themselves, traitors to orthodoxy who had aligned themselves, under the pretext of compromises, with the Latins. He alone, he declares with his usual modesty, had been able to resist the lure of Latinism and defend the good cause to the end. And he urges the people to judge between him and his opponents. This piece is essentially an autobiography, a justification of the role played by the author at Florence. Document XV is, like No. XIV, a circular letter to all the Orthodox faithful urging them to reject the Pact of Florence. In it, Marc primarily attacks the supporters of Rome, who had become numerous in the islands once the union had been officially promulgated there in June and July 1440 by the new Patriarch

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Metrophanes. He warns the Orthodox especially about a supposed stratagem of the unionists: according to them, the decree of Florence did not alter the established practices, and there was therefore no difficulty in accepting it in its entirety. Marc spares no effort to destroy, especially by ridicule, this way of thinking, and the picture he draws of the alleged contradictions of the unionists is full of flair. It is unfortunate for him that the cause he defends is so bad! Above all, he says, no false compromise, no ambiguous situation, no transaction. The Latins are not just schismatics, but heretics of the worst kind; they should be avoided like the plague. And he enumerates the dogmatic and ritual differences that, in his eyes, constitute formal heresies. According to Professor Diamantopoulos, this letter would have been written by Marc during his exile in Lemnos, a few months after his return to the East. This is not impossible, but it is purely a hypothesis. There is indeed mention of captivity at the beginning of the document, but it is only a historical reminiscence, a simple allusion to the Babylonian captivity, as the continuation of the period clearly suggests.

Alongside general works, didactic treatises, or circular letters composed by Marc against the Council of Florence, our collection presents several private letters from the Archbishop of Ephesus related to the same subject. Their number is not considerable, but they are not without interest. Marc appears in them, as everywhere, as an irreducible opponent of the union, but in more moderate or less redundant terms, as befits the intimate nature that any personal correspondence should present. The most important of all is published under No. XVI; it is addressed to the famous George Scholarios, imperial secretary, whom we will have to deal with at length later in this collection. At Florence, Scholarios had sided with the moderates, or, to put it better, among the resigned. Considering union to be a political necessity, he had delivered an exhortation and

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three remarkable discourses, urging his compatriots to accept it as a combination, an unavoidable compromise. It has pleased some modern critics to deny the authenticity of these discourses, which Scholarios delivered not in a public session, but in the private meetings held by the Easterners, almost every day, sometimes at the emperor's, sometimes at the patriarch's. But these critics are wrong, at least in disregarding the multiple testimonies of manuscripts, some of which were written during Scholarios' lifetime. We also have as subsidiary proof the transactional formula he proposed to end the debate about the Procession of the Holy Spirit, a formula that aligns well with the general inspiration of the three discourses. Finally, here is the letter from Marc, of unquestionable authenticity, which would make no sense if Scholarios had not maintained, even after his return to Constantinople, a reserved, rather conciliatory attitude. And if further proof were needed after so many others, we would find it in Scholarios' response, written in very low terms, in which he tries to justify himself to Marc. According to Renaudot, it is in Florence itself that Marc would have addressed Scholarios with the letter we are concerned with. This is an error. As the subscription of the Laurentian manuscript proves, it was after his clandestine departure for Ephesus that Marc wrote this vehement admonition to his friend. And since, according to Syropoulos, Marc had secretly left the capital on the very day of Pentecost (May 15) in 1440 to first reach Bursa, then Ephesus, this letter should be dated to the summer of 1440. One cannot deny, despite the detestable cause it defends, the elevation of style and the depth of sentiment in this letter.

After reproaching Scholarios for his middle ground, his biases regarding the question of union, as if there could be a middle ground between truth and falsehood, Marc continues: "You have been deceived by the lure of vain glory, of false riches, of beautiful and magnificent clothes, and all the other advantages that form the

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happiness of this world. Alas! Alas! What unworthy sentiments for a philosopher! Look behind you, and see those who, before you, have glorified themselves with such honors! Tomorrow, you too will descend to the underworld, leaving all of this behind on earth. But of all your actions, you will be held accountable, just as this so-called synod will be held accountable for the souls it has lost, for all those who have been scandalized in the mystery of the faith, who have blasphemed without excuse against the Holy Spirit, who dare to relate its existence to two principles, who have been led to accept the customs of perdition and impiety of the Latins, those who have brought upon themselves the curse and anathema for having changed the dogma." Here there is an obvious slander: the very form of the union act states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one cause and one principle. If Scholarios claims to see in the union only a means to protect and strengthen the nation, Mare responds sarcastically: "Nothing could be truer, don't you see the enemies of the faith being put to flight, and one of our own chasing a thousand enemies, two of our own scattering ten thousand? If God does not guard our city, in vain do those who defend it with the Pope's gold shields keep watch." And he concludes with this exhortation: "Courage then; now is the moment for you to transform yourself. Let the dead bury their dead. Let Caesar have what is Caesar's. Render to God a soul that He Himself created and endowed. Reflect on the great goods you owe Him; render to Him the gratitude that is due. But above all, my friend, you who are so wise, make it so that I can rejoice in you and give glory to God for you, and may He keep you always safe from all fault!"

Mare had spoken condescendingly to Scholarios. The latter's response came quickly. It will be read later, under number XVII. We could not omit it here, even though it was not from Mare himself, due to its close connection with the document just mentioned.

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Ignoring Mare's personal grievances, Scholarios responds with equal sharpness, and it is hard to say which of the two letters is the least arrogant, which breathes less disdainful vanity. Feeling his pride wounded, Scholarios, as befitting an misunderstood one, swears never again to engage in theology or controversy, except in private, among friends. A vow made by a player, which will be frequently renewed later and never kept. We will see proof of this in one of the last documents of this collection. Clearly distinct from Scholarios, despite the assertion of some authors, is the priest George, to whom the letter numbered XVIII is addressed. In it, Mare condemns, with his usual narrow-mindedness, the use of unleavened bread by the Latins as the Eucharistic matter. Incidentally, he slips in perfidious insinuations, even absurd assertions, about their way of celebrating Mass, their behavior in church, and how they shave their beards: all things constituting, in the eyes of this unyielding fanatic, irremissible transgressions. Like Epimenides coming out of his cave, the Oriental, after centuries of sleep, is astounded when he encounters customs different from his own, and in this regard, Mare of Ephesus is indeed the most accomplished type of his race. A Catholic from Methone, having learned of this letter, sent it to Andrew, Archbishop of Rhodes, one of Mare's opponents at the council. Andrew took the trouble to refute this little pamphlet in a long Latin dialogue, already pointed out by Allatius, but still unpublished, contrary to Démétracopoulos's assertion, who must have misunderstood Allatius's or Fabricius's Latin. Andrew's work is preserved in the Palatinus Latin 604. The postscript of the letter to George of Methone allows us to date this document approximately. It was composed in 1440 or 1441, at a time when the struggle against the Union of Florence had already started in Constantinople but had not yet reached large proportions. It is also around this time that we should place the drafting of our document XIX. The manuscript in Vienna that we have preserved

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only contains, as a title, these simple words: "Μάρκου πρὸς τὸν οἰκουµενικόν." And an old librarian, Tegnagel, notes in a marginal note that this Marc is perhaps the Archbishop of Ephesus. This hypothesis becomes certain if we carefully compare the conclusion of the letter to the Patriarch with the last line of the Profession of faith of Marc, as there is identity not only in thought but also in expression on both sides. Mare, who loves to repeat himself everywhere, has copied himself here. As for the recipient, it can only be identified with Metrophanes of Cyzicus, elected patriarch on May 4, 1440, and died on August 1, 1443. In the absence of any clue allowing further clarification, it is permissible to suppose that this letter dates from the beginning of Metrophanes's patriarchate, a time when the attitude of the new head of the Church could still be equivocal and provoke the exhortations to resistance that Marc addresses from his distant residence. Thus, we will assign, until further notice, this very short letter to the second half of the year 1440.

There is little to say about the letter numbered XX, as it does not provide us with any elements of verification or any historical references, except for the expressed desire of Mare to join the monks of Vatopedi. The thought of seeing them soon and sharing their life filled him with joy; but then Satan, the perpetual envious one, jealous of the happiness he was about to experience, forced him to interrupt his journey. This reflection naturally leads us back to the time when Mare, disappointed by the unwelcoming reception in Ephesus, ill, and discouraged by the attitude of the new patriarch, had considered retiring to the solitude of Mount Athos. And we have already said that this fits very well with the second half of the year 1440 or the beginning of the following year. By a fortunate exception, the document numbered XXI bears a date, June 16, but the year is not indicated. J. Dräseke, in his article on Mare of Ephesus, suggests June 16, 1440, but this opinion is not tenable. As seen earlier, Marc fled

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from Constantinople on May 15, 1440, Pentecost Day, to go to Bursa, and from there, made his way to his diocese in small stages, as it is still customary today to travel in the interior of Asia Minor. Upon reaching his destination, he fell ill, and what's more serious, he was harassed in countless ways by the Turks, masters of the land, because he did not have the investiture diploma of his archbishopric. Full of bitterness, he eventually decided to leave with the thought of retreating to Mount Athos. He therefore crossed the sea again to Gallipoli, but upon arriving in Lemnos, he was detained as a prisoner by the order of the emperor. The length of this journey and the difficulty of communication made it very hard, even today, to complete such a trip in the short interval of one month (May 15 - June 16), as Dräseke suggests. It was even more difficult in the 15th century, when transportation was more rudimentary than today, and the country was in a state of perpetual war; and with illness intervening, Marc was forced to rest for several days. For all these reasons, the date of June 16, 1441 seems perfectly natural. The events Mare refers to in his letter further confirm this hypothesis. The election and installation of a new prelate favorable to the union in Athens could not have taken place until after Metrophanes promulgated the Florence pact, and this formality was carried out during the months of June and July 1440 through circulars to the faithful, of which we still possess two copies. Therefore, all these events first had to take place, and then, with the inevitable delays of the time, reach Mare in his solitude on Lemnos. For this reason as well, the date of June 16, 1440, seems too early.

Which Metropolitan of Athens is being referred to in Mare's letter? The late Spiridion Lambros managed to identify the name in a letter by Michel Kalophrenas, which he published for the first time. To support his thesis, Lambros put forward several arguments, all of which, unfortunately, are incorrect. Kalophrenas does indeed

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mention his archbishop, Phantinos; however, the very title of archbishop, rather than metropolitan, clearly indicates that the author was writing not from Athens, but from Crete. Furthermore, the circular letter from Metrophanes, included with Kalophrenas's letter in the London manuscript used by Lambros, is specifically addressed to the faithful of Crete, a detail that should have raised the awareness of a more careful or less hurried critic than the director of Neos Hellenomnemon. I am not currently in a position to provide the name of the prelate referred to by Mare; it is better to admit ignorance than to clutter history with imaginary figures.

Letter XXII belongs to a period when Mare was in Constantinople. The question is whether this stay in the capital coincides with his return from Italy or with his return from the temporary exile on Lemnos. Dräseke and Diamantopoulos favor the first option, but I find it difficult to share their view. Let us first recall the circumstances that led to the sending of this letter. A certain Theophanes, a monk from the island of Imbros, had written, like many others, a small treatise against the Union of Florence, which has been preserved in two manuscripts: no. 381 (347), fol. 59-68 from the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, and no. 256, fol. 143-154 from the Royal Library of Munich. In both manuscripts, the treatise, or *Syntagma*, is preceded by a letter to the emperor, already published by Manuel Gédéon based on the Iviron manuscript. Moreover, in the Munich manuscript, after the treatise, the letter, published later as letter XXII, appears. Theophanes, having asked the archbishop of Ephesus to bring his treatise before the emperor, receives a response from Mare that it would be in vain. The time for words is over, he says, and now action must be taken. He speaks in extremely violent terms about the new patriarch, a devouring wolf rather than a shepherd of souls. In my opinion, this alludes to the timing of the document. Contrary to Dräseke's opinion, which dates it to 1440,

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between Ascension and Pentecost, I believe that Mare must have written it after the arrival of Gregory the Protosyncellus to the patriarchate. The letter refers to a recent patriarchal election, which resulted in the selection of a prelate fully devoted to union with Rome, a mercenary prelate, not a shepherd, a wolf and not a pastor; and it seems, on the other hand, that the new patriarch must have been young enough for Mare to apply to him the words of Jehovah in Isaiah: "I will give youths as their rulers." In my opinion, these words cannot apply to the elderly Metrophanes of Cyzicus. Furthermore, if we accept the 1440 date proposed by Dräseke, the interval between the return to the capital of the members of the council (February 1st) and Mare's clandestine flight (May 15th) seems too short for Theophanes to have composed his treatise, sent it to Mare, and received his response. Moreover, do we not already have another letter from Mare, number XIX, addressed to Metrophanes himself? Mare could not have expressed himself simultaneously in such different terms about the same person. All signs point to the fact that the patriarch referred to in letter XXII is none other than Gregory the Protosyncellus. But if this is the case, another difficulty arises: the election of Gregory himself. Few events have caused as much controversy. Quien, followed by P. Pierling, places this election in 1446; Gédéon, Tryphon Evagélidès, and Krumbacher bring it back to 1443, while Allatius, the Bollandists, Fromman, Dräseke, Papaioannou, and most modern historians, following the testimony of Phrantzes, date it to 1445. Phrantzes was a contemporary, certainly, but he wrote his Chronicle only in 1477. His testimony cannot therefore be accepted without scrutiny, and other data compel us to place the election of the new patriarch at least in 1444. Here's why. Manuscript 127 from Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos contains, from folio 212 to folio 342, Scholarios's first treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. At the bottom of folio 212, we read this

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interesting note in Scholarios's own hand: "This is the first of those against the Latins; for the second and third, other works have been written." Then, a bit lower down, in a different ink, this second note: "It was written eight years before the fall; three years before the fall, Genadius became a monk." According to the author himself, it was written eight years before the fall of Constantinople, meaning in 1444/1445. Further precision is possible. We possess a small treatise by Scholarios, addressed as a letter to Jean Basilikos regarding a text by Theodore Graptos (Patriarch Nicephorus). Migne reproduced it based on the edition by Patriarch Dositheus, which is heavily truncated, but the Coislin 101 manuscript from the National Library of Paris contains an excellent copy made by Silvestre Syropoulos in August 1445. In a passage on folio 286, Scholarios expressly refers to his two previous works on the Procession of the Holy Spirit: "It is not difficult to resolve and refute, as indeed has already been done sufficiently in these two books." Since Coislin 101 is not the original manuscript of Scholarios, but a copy, we must date the original composition at the latest to July 1445. Consequently, the two preceding books, which are quite extensive, must have been written in the first half of 1445, and the first one, in particular, during the autumn of 1444. Moving back to the second half of 1444, we are in agreement with the eight years indicated by Scholarios, keeping in mind that the year in Constantinople began in September. Thus, the eighth year before the Fall began on September 1, 1444. But why go back so far? Because the two works were not written in one go, and there must have been a considerable gap between the writing of the first and second treatises. Here's why. Jean Comnene, emperor of Trebizond, upon hearing of the first work, wanted a copy, which he requested from the author. Instead of sending it, Scholarios preferred to compose a new work more suitable to the theological competence of the august recipient. For all these reasons, which are not to be

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overlooked, we are led back to the autumn of 1444 for the composition of the first treatise. Once this point is established, let us recall the circumstances that led to the writing of this first work. Once again, we have the invaluable advantage of quoting Scholarios himself. His testimony is recorded in a short introduction placed at the beginning of the treatise in several manuscripts. Renaudot already published it from the Parisinus 1290. The original of this interesting preface, written by Scholarios himself, can be found in the upper and side margins of manuscript 330 from Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos, where I had the good fortune of encountering it. Here and there, the text differs from that of Paris, as it is a first draft later transformed into a more syntactically correct formula, but the substance is identical. Here is the text from the Dionysiou manuscript as it appears on folio 67: Of the same George of Scholarios: it was written after fifteen lectures held in the palace with the papal envoy and bishop of Cortona, and teacher of Latin theology, in the presence of Patriarch Gregory, the cardinal, and many Latins and Orthodox, before Emperor John and Lord Theodore. Having been invited to present the conclusions of those lectures in this book, it was transcribed in many copies and spread everywhere, even among the Latins, where it is now found. The writer at that time was the imperial secretary of Emperor John, the chief critic of the Romans, and a teacher in the emperor's dining hall during every preparation, with the presence of the senate and the entire city, preaching the word of God to the glory of God, the giver of all things.

Everything in this memorial aligns with the data from other contemporary sources. The bishop of Cortona, papal legate and master in sacred theology, is the Dominican Bartholomew Lapacci, who was still in Constantinople on October 29, 1446, buying a copy of Moschopoulos' schédographie. The cardinal is Pope Eugene IV's nephew, Francesco Condulmer, who left Venice on June 22, 1444,

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arrived in Modon on July 17, and departed for Constantinople on July 20, where he stayed until the fall of 1445. Finally, Patriarch Gregory is the former protosyncellus. But if he attended the conferences as patriarch, the date of his elevation to the patriarchate given by Phrantzès cannot be retained. Indeed, as shown above, the first book on the Procession of the Holy Spirit must have been written no later than early 1445, but probably at the end of 1444. And since this treatise is after the conferences, which it summarizes, they must have taken place no later than the fall of 1444. Unless, improbably, Scholarios gave Gregory the title of patriarch in advance, his election must have taken place during the summer of 1444. In fact, the text of Phrantzès can fit our synchronism perfectly. When he mentions Gregory's election, it is after discussing the Battle of Varna, which he places in the year of the world 6953, from September 1, 1444, to August 31, 1445; and since the battle took place on November 9, the year 6953 corresponds to 1444. Once the battle narrative is finished, Phrantzès adds: "During the summer of the same year." Strictly speaking, he should be referring to the summer of 1445, as the summer of 6953 actually corresponds to 1445. However, since Phrantzès was writing in 1477, in Corfu, surrounded by Latins who counted years differently, he might have used the local method of reckoning. Thus, in Phrantzès' mind, the phrase "during the summer of the same year" could refer to the summer of 1444, following the battle of Varna. In any case, the synchronisms provided by Scholarios force us to place Gregory's election in 1444, at the latest. Another consideration: the emperor must have been informed of the imminent arrival of the papal legate and cardinal-nephew Condulmer, who had left Sienna for his Eastern mission on June 10, 1443. He likely didn't want this extraordinary mission to arrive in the imperial capital while the patriarchal seat was vacant. The year 1444, required by all these circumstances, is also indicated by a list of

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patriarchs after the Council of Florence. Therefore, the drafting of our text XXII, which helps us clarify the chronology of the final days of Mark of Ephesus, will also place it in 1444. When did Mark die? Certainly before August 1445. In the work of Scholarios copied by Syropoulos in this period, composed no later than July 1445, Mark is already mentioned as dead. It is known that the great defender of Orthodoxy died on June 23, and the date of June 23, 1445, is indeed plausible. This is the date Giovanni Mercati, the renowned Prefect of the Vatican Library, has recently suggested in his remarkable "Appunti Scolariani." However, I cannot fully agree with this view, and to justify my stance, I must refer to an argument presented by Mercati himself. As he rightly observes, the last words of Mark of Ephesus and Scholarios' response clearly imply that until that moment, Scholarios had neither written nor publicly debated in favor of the so-called Orthodox faith. Therefore, Mark's death must have occurred before the composition of the first treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, i.e., before the fall of 1444. Furthermore, Gregory the Protosyncellus was already on the patriarchal throne when Mark of Ephesus breathed his last, since in the supreme discourse he delivered on his deathbed, he resolutely excluded Gregory and his followers from his funeral procession. Although Gregory is not named, it is clear that it refers to him. Thus, we are led back to the summer of 1444, the period, as seen earlier, of Gregory's rise to the patriarchate. Is it possible to place Mark's death in 1443? Not likely, as, according to Syropoulos, Patriarch Metrophanes did not die until August 1, 1443, i.e., after June 23, the day Mark died. Moreover, it would be hard to believe that Syropoulos, who records Metrophanes' death, wouldn't have mentioned Mark's death if it had occurred before Metrophanes'. This is also Mercati's view, though one should not rely too heavily on this argument. Thus, the arrival in Constantinople, around the end of July 1444, of Cardinal Condulmer is recorded in

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Syropoulos' work, and Mercati uses this as proof that Mark could not have died in 1444. But, as seen earlier, from Scholarios' autograph notes, 1444, after excluding 1443, is the only plausible date. Syropoulos does not mention Gregory's election to the patriarchate, but as we have observed, it must have preceded the arrival of Cardinal Condulmer in Constantinople. These apparent difficulties, derived from Syropoulos' history, vanish when we remember that the mission of Condulmer is recalled by Syropoulos in a final chapter, which does not belong to the main narrative, but where the author summarizes the reasons that caused the failure of the union promulgated at Florence in Constantinople. Clearly, Mark's death could not be one of the reasons cited. Against this date of 1444 for Mark's death, Mercati presents a final argument: Mark composed a work on cycles that dates precisely to this year 1444, as demonstrated by references to the current year. I too have consulted this still unpublished treatise. Indeed, Mark refers to the current year, 6952 of the world, i.e., 1444, but each time using the expression "EVIGTÁUEVOY ETOS," the starting year. Thus, he composed his work during the first months of this year, and while this information is valuable, it does not force us to push Mark's death into 1445. Therefore, 1444 seems, for all these reasons, the only plausible date. As for the exact day of his death, June 23, we would only have a reason to dismiss it if we took literally a passage from Saint Antonin of Florence. According to the holy bishop, Bartholomew of Florence, i.e., Lapacci, bishop of Coron (sic!), having gone to Constantinople with the Venetian cardinal-legate (obviously Condulmer), engaged in a lengthy discussion there, during which, by order of the emperor, he debated with Mark of Ephesus. Mark was defeated, and the sorrow caused by his defeat was so great that he died a few days later. This account, though authentic, presents a problem since, as we know, Condulmer was still in Venice on June 23, 1444. One could resolve this difficulty by suggesting that

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Saint Antonin made a mistake. Indeed, Bartholomew of Florence did not become bishop of Coron until June 1449. At the time of Condulmer's mission, the bishop of Coron was Christophe Garatoni, who was just as famous as Bartholomew and well-known among the Byzantines, since he had held the chancery of Venice in Constantinople since 1423. Thus, Saint Antonin likely meant Garatoni, not Bartholomew, and in this case, the passage would no longer pose a problem. However, I must admit that this proposed correction should be checked against manuscripts, which I am unable to do. If the authentic text of the Chronicle indeed mentions Coronensis, then Saint Antonin must have meant Garatoni, and nothing prevents us from placing Mark's death on June 23, 1444.

With the lesson of Cortonensis, we must, on the contrary, apply the passage from Saint Antonin regarding Barthelemy Lapacci, whose arrival in the capital is after June 23, 1444. In any case, in light of Scholarios' testimony, it is impossible to go lower than 1444. This latter date, then, is the most plausible, and we will retain it until a new element brings a definitive solution to this small historical problem. Thus, the chronology of our document n°XXII is at least provisionally fixed. The scene presented by this document is not lacking in grandeur. Mare is about to die. Throughout his life, he has fought for the triumph of his ideas; but as he is about to pass, he anxiously wonders who will now carry the banner of orthodoxy. Among all those around him, he sees only one man capable of continuing the fight in his place, and that man is Georges Scholarios. He therefore calls upon his devotion and earnestly begs him not to fail in the task that lies ahead. Scholarios, renouncing his policy of compromise, accepts. "Always," he says, addressing the dying man, "I have behaved toward Your Holiness as a son and as a disciple, and my own testimony proves that you do not doubt this... (Although sometimes I did not openly take part in the battles you fought

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yourself, I will remain silent about the reasons for my actions, for no one knows them better than Your Holiness. Often I have confided in you, admitting what my state of mind was at the time; I sought your forgiveness, and you forgave me. But now, with God's help, I renounce those feelings, I publicly declare myself the most sincere champion of the truth, and I will preach, without any dissimulation, according to the example of Your Holiness, the doctrines of our fathers and the truth of the Orthodox faith)."

Mare was reassured: the fragment of orthodoxy would not die with him; the hands that received it from him were capable of carrying it. Thus, his final words were a word of hatred against the union with Rome, and his supreme consolation was that this hatred would persist after him. And he died on June 23, after fourteen days of excruciating suffering caused by ileus or intestinal obstruction, at the side of his brother, John Eugenius, who recorded his last moments as follows: "He was ill for fourteen days. This illness, he said himself, had exactly the same effect as those iron torture devices applied by executioners to the holy martyrs, instruments that surrounded their sides and intestines, pressing them and remaining attached, causing unbearable pain. Thus, it seems that what was lacking from human hands—this saintly, athletic body—was fulfilled by the disease, through an inscrutable judgment of divine Providence." This energetic description only lacks the technical name of the disease. An Italian from Brescia, Hubertin Pusculo, who visited Constantinople during Mare of Ephesus' time, echoes the brother's account, and describes the death of the prelate in a few verses worth citing, their edition being somewhat difficult to access.

The passage in question can be found in the second song of Constantinopolis: Heresy and the prince Marcus manifestly repays; The support, an example to all. For while alive, putrid; He had once poured out foul and vile thoughts conceived in his heart; And, dying,

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his mouth, from which his breath had flowed, was corrupted; Vile, and vomited through his chest with a suffocating stench; So the foul odor of his stomach's internal workings emerged; O truly forgetful Greeks! O empty of virtue!; Therefore, it was not a great punishment for you to bear this shame; Did it not terrify you, Constantinople, when you saw this dreadful; Death unheard of? The fiercest enemy of Christ, Impious and a plague upon the world, against the mysteries; Of the faith, inventing crimes, while still persevering; And with bold and excessively audacious words, he tried to overturn; The firm foundation of God, immovable by human hands, Hungering for true and holy religion throughout the world, While he denied Christ Himself to be God, And his whole being poured out, and his body remained empty of life, As one might see the unimaginable depths revealed through his mouth, Whom nature had given, though yet his body consumed itself. Here, against the horrible punishment, that which he had taken in with his mouth, After many days, he recalled from his belly; Corrupted, and vomited his soul amidst the foul odor.

These consistent testimonies from two contemporary authors, one of whom is Marc's own brother, spare us from justifying Joseph of Methone for having discussed the nature of this disease in his polemic against the Archbishop of Ephesus. It is up to each person to see or not see a punishment from heaven, but the disease itself was neither invented by Joseph of Methone nor by the Catholics, as some Orthodox writers still enjoy repeating. Would Orthodoxy itself constitute immunity against the effects of intestinal obstruction?

The reader will not find, in this pamphlet, certain works by Marc that their titles would suggest should be included. Here are the titles, according to Fabricius, reproduced by Migne: a) *Apologia de fuga sua*; — b) *Contra encyclicam Bessarionis*; — c) *Antir-rheticum contra Andream Colossensem*. Now, these three works, I must say loudly, have never existed anywhere except in the fertile imagination

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of a Cretan forger, Nicolas Comnène Papadopoli, whose *Praenotiones mystagogicae* form a mishmash of fabricated texts for the needs of some thesis with rare audacity. How many scholars, for more than three centuries, have been deceived by them, and even today, this imposing folio continues to dupe those in circles where ready-made works and texts tailored to fit are favored. Hergenröther himself seriously mentions these three works among the sources to consult for the history of the Council of Florence, and he suggests that he encountered them. Where, then? Perhaps in the list compiled by Fabricius, but certainly nowhere else, and I challenge any manuscript curator to show us one of these supposed writings that Papadopoli is the first to mention, because he is the first to invent their titles and the few lines he quotes from them, to deceive with that consummate art of literary fraud that no one has mastered as well. As for the *Epilogus adversus Latinos*, also cited by Fabricius, we have deliberately excluded it; it is just an excerpt from a long speech delivered by Mare at the council and reproduced in full in the *Acta*. We will find it again in the critical edition of the *Acta*, which we intend to publish one day, as their text presents literary problems yet to be fully explored.

Demétracopoulos still attributes to Marc of Ephesus an unpublished treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, and he gives the following incipit from number 280 of the Imperial Library of Vienna: KanÁ Tís dant do danDás Lai dógiáTos, ny oi Poncá E TŌ agio GUUGÓ TOOVTaL mpocizy. I possess a copy of this piece from a manuscript of Athos, and I must say, after reading it, that it does not display any of the characteristics of Marc's other works. Moreover, it is anonymous in the Vienna manuscript, and its attribution to the Archbishop of Ephesus is pure hypothesis. Demétracopoulos himself had registered it, a little higher up, under the name of Nicetas Choniates, with a slight variation in the title,

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which does not suffice to make us doubt the identity of the two copies. Therefore, we could not include it among Marc's anti-council works. Our pamphlet concludes with a treatise often mentioned and sometimes praised by certain historians who certainly have never read it. I am speaking of the work by Manuel the Great Rhetor on Mare, Metropolitan of Ephesus and the Council of Florence, and against Gemistus and Bessarion. Perhaps reading this piece will leave some disappointment, as it gives much less than its title seems to promise. It is scarcely more than the biography of Mare, and the history of the council is barely touched. As soon as the first page is turned, one is quite surprised to find oneself facing a virulent diatribe against Plethon and Bessarion. Plethon can still be passed over, as his Christianity left much to be desired; but to treat Bessarion as impious, an atheist, a hardened pagan, based on a few lines written in the style of the humanists of the time, will certainly surprise more than one reader. Despite this unfortunate impression, we felt it necessary to include Manuel's work in this collection, first to spare future historians unnecessary regrets about the impossibility of consulting it, and also because, all things considered, this treatise constitutes a curious sample of theological controversy in the 15th and 16th centuries. Not to mention the substance of the debate, which we do not need to examine here, one finds in Manuel frequent use of *Summa contra Gentiles* by Saint Thomas Aquinas, which the author doubtlessly did not consult firsthand but through his preferred teacher, Georges Scholarios, from whom he shamelessly appropriated entire pages. Moreover, the name of Saint Thomas never appears under his pen, nor does that of Scholarios. Another cause for astonishment, for anyone consulting Manuel's pamphlet in the Paris manuscript recension, is his strange way of handling the texts of the Latin Fathers that he brings in support of his thesis, and I am less surprised, after having read it, that a monk from Athos seriously

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claimed to me, in August 1901, that Saint Augustine had been an irreducible adversary of the Filioque. It is because the Greek translator audaciously distorted the very text of the great doctor of Hippo. But this part of the Paris manuscript, borrowed from another composition of the same type by Manuel, had to be omitted here. In the refutation of Plethon's religious system, Manuel's argumentation is neither lacking in verve nor in logic; but once again, originality is missing. His best pages are borrowed, word for word, from the refutation of Proclus' *Institution Theologica* by Nicolas of Methone, whose name, incidentally, is not cited. It is true that Nicolas of Methone, whose theological learning has been so praised, was himself a professional plagiarist. This is what, among these fine theologians of Byzantium, kills the craft. Thus, Manuel's treatise constitutes, despite its apparent erudition, nothing more than a mosaic of borrowed texts patched together with more or less success, somewhat like a newspaper chronicle in our major dailies. I have left no stone unturned to recognize and trace these various borrowings, leaving others the task of completing, in some points, this part of my work. We must resign ourselves, especially in Byzantine studies, to not knowing everything.

We know very little about the author himself. He has sometimes been confused with Manuel Holobolos, a 15th-century author; but this identification, already challenged by Hase in 1813, does not withstand even the slightest scrutiny. In the absence of other arguments, the text itself of the treatise published here would suffice to dismiss it. Ulysse Chevalier, in his *Bio-Bibliography*, places Manuel around 1450. This date is still too early. As early as 1840, Constantin Oeconomos had recognized our Manuel in the figure of that name mentioned in the *Chronicle of Malaxos* concerning the death of Patriarch Joachim (1498-1502). On the other hand, Theodose Zygomalas, in a letter written in 1581, counts Manuel among the

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disciples of Matthieu Camariotes, himself a disciple of Georges Scholarios. Manuel was still alive in 1547, as his signature appears at the bottom of a synodal document from that date. By placing his death in 1551, Patriarch Constantios I must be close to the truth, even though he does not indicate which source he drew this information from. In any case, one cannot place his death before 1555, since by this time, the title of Grand Rhetor was already held by Jean Zygomalas. Two testimonies cited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his excellent article on our Manuel give him the name of Galésiote. Was this his patronymic, or is it rather a simple nickname related to some connection of Manuel with the monks of Galésios or their church of Saint Anastasia in Constantinople? It is difficult to say. In the first case, he would probably be the son of that Galésiote whom Georges Scholarios had taken as a secretary to Italy during the Council of Florence. This would explain why he so often relied on the works of Scholarios. Another detail worth noting is that in 1482, at the death of Patriarch Maximus, Manuel delivered, on behalf of the clergy of the capital, an eulogy for the deceased. He thus already held a certain position among the patriarchate's officials at that time, and he must have been at least in his twenties. Therefore, without risking straying from the truth, one can place his birth around 1460.

Manuel the Rhetor wrote a lot, or at least copied a lot, if we judge by the extensive list of his works that Papadopoulos-Kerameus compiled with great care. However, this long enumeration should not deceive us. His treatises proper are short, with the one we publish below being one of the most substantial. The rest of Manuel's literary work mainly consists of liturgical pieces, written in that implausible language of Byzantine hymnographers, where words always outweigh thoughts. It is also worth noting that several of the pieces attributed to Manuel are not his own. This is the case, for example, with most of the metric prayers highly praised by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Manuel

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simply copied them from an unpublished collection of works by Georges Scholarios, as I will provide evidence of elsewhere. For now, it suffices to highlight those of Manuel's works that are more directly related to religious controversy:

1. Treatise on Purgatory, found in manuscript no. 1293, fol. 254-263, of the National Library of Paris, under the following title: "Manuel of the most eloquent and learned great rhetor of the Holy Great Church of Constantinople, new Rome, from the Peloponnese, a speech concerning the fact that there is no posthumous purgatorial fire, as some claim; and against those who ignorantly assert that observing the old law is Judaism." Another copy of this treatise is likely in the Vatican library, as Allatius quotes a passage, albeit brief, in his dissertation on Purgatory.

2. On the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Here is the title: "By the same Lord Manuel, the great rhetor, in two Latin arguments proving both the refutation of theirs and the construction that it is from the Father alone; spoken to Lord Gerasimus who had presented them." This treatise can be found in the following manuscripts: N 348 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher in Constantinople, f. 6 sq.; N 42 of the Selden manuscripts in Oxford, f. 110; N° 585 of the Public Library of Petrograd, I. 62; N° 13(13) of the Synodal Library in Moscow, I. 79; N² 420 (393) from the same collection, f. 115; a 112 from the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos. Manuscript N° 1377 from the same Iviron Monastery contains the following excerpt: "By the same Manuel the great rhetor, a speech resolving certain difficulties, some of which provoked these thoughts." This is likely the same treatise.

3. Response to Father Francesco. It is titled: "Letters and speeches of Father Francesco, as he wrote to the great rhetor, followed by an apology and refutation of Father Francesco's chapters." This is preserved in the following manuscripts: Cromwel 10, f. 89; Selden 42,

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f. 157; Sinaiticus 33; Moscow manuscripts 13(13), T. 116, and 324 (311), f. 10; Iviron 139 and 1337; Metochion 145, f. 552. It was published incompletely in the *Varia Sacra* of Etienne Le Moyne (Leyden, 1685), p. 268-293, and fully edited by Archimandrite Arsénij in Moscow, 1889.

4. Against Plethon: "By the same most learned Lord Manuel the great rhetor of the Great Church, against the Plethonian treatise, whose beginning is 'The untold Latin books that come to us'" This is preserved in the following manuscripts: 385 of Petrograd, I. 57; 423 (394) of Moscow, f. 105; 348 of Metochion, f. 11; 512 of Iviron.

5. On the Death of Christ: "A speech proving when the Lord's flesh was glorified and how it should be understood to have been glorified." Preserved in manuscript 512 of Iviron and 324 (311) of Moscow, this piece was published based on the Moscow manuscript by Archimandrite Arsénij in the supplement to volume XXVII of *Lectures of the Religious Formation Society*, and in a separate booklet (Moscow, 1889).

6. On Mare of Ephese and the Council of Florence. This is the work published here. Papadopoulos-Kerameus seriously lists it among the historical works: perhaps this honors it too much, as the treatise is more of a philosophical-theological diatribe directed against Plethon and Bessarion. The few pages dedicated to the memory of Mare of Ephese were copied verbatim by Manuel himself to be transformed into a synaxarion or liturgical office composed in his honor, celebrating the champion of orthodoxy at the Council of Florence. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, who published this office, did not notice this procedure, which is fairly common in the East, of extracting two versions from the same work. Unable to insert his dissertation into a liturgical piece, Manuel prudently refers us back to it during his synaxarion. Archimandrite Arsénij, who died as auxiliary bishop of Novgorod, published this treatise of Manuel, accompanied

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by a Russian translation, in the Christian Reading Bulletin of the Saint Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy, Volume II from 1886, pp. 102-162. Arsénij's method of establishing the Greek text is somewhat strange. Having received a copy of Manuel's treatise from an old manuscript from Sinai, which was later transferred to St. Petersburg, he also took a copy of the Moscow manuscript. However, instead of cross-referencing these two copies of the same text, he faithfully printed the copy from St. Petersburg while systematically rejecting the variants in the Moscow codex, even though they were often preferable to the St. Petersburg readings. I have indicated both in my edition, not from the manuscripts themselves, which I was unable to consult, but based on the work of Arsénij and Troitskii, whose responsibility alone is at stake. However, for the establishment of the text, I have based it on manuscript N° 1293 from the National Library of Paris, copied in 1511, while Manuel was still alive, by a certain Paul Kolybas from Modon in the Morea. Apart from certain spelling variations resulting from itacism and the doubling of consonants, this copy is remarkably accurate; though it does have some regrettable gaps, which the edition by Arsénij fortunately helped to fill.

If I had to use certain terms of doubtful Latin in my translation to stay faithful to the author's meaning, the need for accuracy will serve as my defense. Indeed, every translator of such works might adopt the motto of Creuzer, the courageous editor of Proclus: "No one can translate Proclus and similar philosophers into Latin without being called a monkey of Cicero."

L. PETIT,
Archbishop of Athens

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TO THE MOST HOLY POPE OF ELDER ROME, MARK,
BISHOP OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FAITHFUL
ESTABLISHED IN EPHEBUS.

1. Today the beginnings of universal joy; today the spiritual rays of the sun of peace rise for the whole world; today the members of the Lord's body, scattered and broken for many past centuries, hasten to mutual union with one another: for the head, Christ God, does not allow Himself to rule over a divided body, nor does the bond of charity allow itself to be utterly torn away from us, Charity consents. Therefore, He, the Prince of His priesthood, has urged us to gather here, and He has urged our most religious emperor to render obedience to you, He has urged our most holy shepherd and patriarch to forget his old age and prolonged infirmity, and He has gathered us, the pastors, from all sides, and has driven us to long journeys, seas, and other dangers. Is it not clear that these things have come to pass through the power and will of God, and that the outcome will be most favorable and pleasing to God, as we can already foresee? Therefore, let us proceed, most holy Father, to receive your children coming from the distant regions of the East; embrace those who, already separated from you, flee to your embrace; heal those who have

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suffered scandal; command that whatever obstacle or stumbling block prevents peace be removed from the way; say also to your angels, as if another God: 'Prepare the way for my people, and cast away the stones from the way.' How long, then, while we are of the same Christ and the same faith, shall we strike and slaughter one another? How long shall we, worshipers of the same Trinity, bite and devour one another, until we are consumed by each other, and reduced to nothing by external enemies? Let this certainly not be, Christ the King, nor let the abundance of our sins exceed Your goodness; but as in former times, when you saw iniquity overflowing and violently breaking forth, You restrained it through Yourself and Your apostles, turning all to the knowledge of You, so now, likewise, join these servants of Yours, who hold nothing more precious than Your love, one to another, and us to You, and fulfill that vow which You uttered as You were going to Your passion, praying: 'Make them one, as We are one.' Do You not see, Lord, our dissension, how pitiful it is, and how, accustomed to another dominion and arrogance, we have abused the indulgence of the flesh, and have become wholly servants of sin and utterly corrupted; while, on the other hand, we have become devoted to the enemies of Your cross, led into pillage and servitude, and we have been reckoned as sheep to be slaughtered? Have mercy, Lord; heed us, Lord; help us, Lord. What once was commonly said, that an ecumenical council is necessary to resolve matters, we have now accomplished today; what was in our hands, we have contributed. Act, therefore, and give us also what is Yours, so that what we have undertaken may be completed: for You have the power, if You will, and Your will is to accomplish the work. Say also to us now, as once through Your prophet: 'Behold, I am with you, and My spirit remains in the midst of you.' For if You are present, all things will be made clear and plain.

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2. And these things I have thought good to say in the present. Now I will speak to you, most blessed Father. What is the reason that we contend so greatly about the renewal of this kind of addition, which has broken and torn the body of Christ, and by which those who are called His disciples have been divided until now by disagreements in their opinions? What is this long and enduring strife and the unbrotherly contempt of our brothers, and the alienation of those who suffer scandal? Do we condemn the Fathers when we think and say something different from their common traditions? Why do we weaken their faith, while we introduce ours as supposedly more perfect? What do we preach except the Gospel that we have received? Who is the malevolent devil who envies our concord and unity? Who has taken away the fraternal love from us, substituting a different sacrifice that is illegitimately offered, because it is offered without unity? Are these the thoughts of an apostolic mind, of paternal goodwill, and of fraternal charity? Or on the contrary, is it the attitude of a cruel and irritable man, who begrudges that all should perish? Indeed, I think that the one who introduced this division, and tore the once unbroken garment of the Lord's body, will face a harsher punishment than those who nailed Christ to the cross and all the wicked and heretics of every age. But to you, on the contrary, it is fitting, most blessed Father, if you will, to unite what has been separated, to tear down the middle wall of partition, to accomplish the work of divine dispensation. You have already begun this, and with the greatest gifts and magnificent donations, You have extended it: may You be pleased to bring it to its summit; for no other occasion more fitting will present itself than the one God has granted to You today. Lift up your eyes around and see the venerable and august old men, now often in need of rest and comfort, driven from their lands, coming to Your greatness, strengthened by a single hope in God and love toward You. Look at the crown of glory already

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woven; do not hesitate to be crowned by it. One has wounded, You heal the wound; one has torn, You mend; one has grown worse, and You strive to repair the harm as though it had not happened. I heard one of your teachers say that, for the sake of moderation and correction, some who did not rightly understand the faith initially devised this addition: let us indeed, for the sake of moderation, remove it again, so that you may recover your brothers, whose division it clearly harms you, unless you are inhuman. Consider in your mind the blood of Christians shed every day, the harsh servitude under barbarians, the cross of Christ offered to shame; also, altars overthrown, pious homes destroyed, divine praises extinguished, sacred places occupied, holy vessels and garments plundered. All these things, through mutual peace and concord, may reasonably be hoped to be averted, with the help of God, provided that, laying aside our fierce and inexorable spirit, we do not refuse to observe the customs that bind us together in peace, and remove from our midst whatever is an offense to us. For if, as He said, 'If food causes my brother to stumble, I will never eat meat again.' So too, now, most holy Father, the fermented bread is good, and so is the unleavened. But if the unleavened is scandalous and less suitable for sacrifice, and considered imperfect and dead, and the bread of iniquity is called so in Scripture, why should the fermented be rejected, and the unleavened embraced? For since there is one bread, we, though many, are one body, as the divine apostle says, for we all partake of one bread. Wherefore, if we do not partake of one bread, we are not one body, nor do we conspire with one another, nor move with the same impulse. I beseech you, as He says, 'By the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you.' Since we do not speak the same thing, it is just that this great and incurable schism remains between us to this day. Where, then, do we not speak the same thing? Not in secret and hidden places, where things may be

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concealed from the people, but in the public symbol of faith, in the confession of baptism, in the Christian badge. Now, if someone adulterates a royal coin, he is considered worthy of the gravest punishment; the one who corrupts the common sign of the Christian profession, what law would he judge himself worthy of, paying a lighter punishment for so great a crime?

3. Consider the matter as it is. Once, we all said the same thing, and there was no schism among us, and then we certainly conspired with the Fathers themselves. But now, when we do not say the same thing, how, I pray, can we agree with one another? But we indeed, while we say the same things as before, conspire with ourselves, with our Fathers, and with you as well, if you would speak the truth. But you, when you adopted more recent opinions, must necessarily disagree, first with yourselves, then with the common Fathers, and finally with us as well. Why not return to that best concord, which will show that we, agreeing with one another, and with our Fathers, will remove the schism, unite the separated, and accomplish every good? Nay, by the very Trinity! Nay, by the common hope in which we have placed our trust, do not allow us to depart without fruit and without accomplishing the work. For we serve as ambassadors for Christ, as if God were exhorting through us: Do not disgrace the mission; do not make your labor in vain, do not offer useless prayers, do not comply with the wills of the enemies; do not let our common enemy and betrayer mock us as he did before; do not cause God and His Holy Spirit to be grieved." Any mind and any hearing waits in suspense for your judgment. If you willingly approach peace, removing the scandals from the midst, things will now go better for Christians, and worse for the impious, as they will tremble at our success and foresee their own destruction. But if (God forbid!) the opposite happens, and the evil spirit of dissension prevails, I can no longer proceed, troubled with sorrow; but may God, who can do

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all things, restore His Church, which He has redeemed with His own blood, and may He make it so that whatever He desires, as it is in Heaven, may also be accomplished on earth, for to Him is due glory, honor, and adoration forever and ever, Amen.

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TESTIMONIES COLLECTED BY MARK OF EPHESUS,
BY WHICH, AS HE SAYS, IT IS PROVEN THAT THE
HOLY SPIRIT PROCEEDS FROM THE FATHER
ALONE.

1. David says in Psalm 32:6: "By the word of the Lord, the heavens were established, and all their strength by the breath of His mouth."

2. In Psalm 142:10: "Your good Spirit shall lead me on level ground."

3. In Psalm 138:7: "Where can I go from Your Spirit? Or where can I flee from Your presence?"

4. In Psalm 50:13: "And do not take Your Holy Spirit from me."

5. In Psalm 103:30: "You send forth Your Spirit, and they are created."

6. From Isaiah (61:1): "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He has anointed Me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent Me to heal the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind."

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7. From the Gospel of Matthew (10:19–20): "When they deliver you up, do not worry about how or what you should speak. For it will be given to you in that hour what you should speak; for it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you."

8. And a little further (Matthew 12:28): "But if I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, surely the kingdom of God has come upon you."

9. From the Gospel of Luke (11:20): "But if I cast out demons with the finger of God, surely the kingdom of God has come upon you."

10. From the Gospel of John (14:16–17): "And I will pray to the Father, and He will give you another Helper, that He may abide with you forever, the Spirit of truth."

11. And again (John 14:26): "But the Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things and bring to your remembrance all things that I said to you."

12. (John 15:26): "But when the Helper comes, whom I shall send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, He will testify of Me."

13. (John 16:7–8): "Nevertheless, I tell you the truth. It is to your advantage that I go away; for if I do not go away, the Helper will not come to you. But if I depart, I will send Him to you. And when He has come, He will convict the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment."

14. (John 16:12–13): "I still have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now. However, when He, the Spirit of truth, has come, He will guide you into all truth; for He will not speak on His own authority, but whatever He hears He will speak; and He will tell you things to come."

15. (John 16:15): "All things that the Father has are Mine. Therefore I said that He will take of Mine and declare it to you."

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16. From Acts, the words of the Apostle Peter (Acts 2:33):
"Therefore, being exalted to the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, He poured out this which you now see and hear."

17. From his Catechetical Address to his disciple Clement:
"That people, clearly seeing, might believe in the one God, the Father Almighty, and in His Only-Begotten Son, begotten ineffably of Him before all ages, and in the Holy Spirit, who ineffably proceeds from the same Father – in one God known in three Hypostases, unoriginate, unending, eternal, and ever-existent."

18. From the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 2:10–12): "But God has revealed them to us through His Spirit. For the Spirit searches all things, yes, the deep things of God. For what man knows the things of a man except the spirit of the man which is in him? Even so, no one knows the things of God except the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God, that we might know the things that have been freely given to us by God."

19. From the Epistle to the Romans (Romans 8:9–11): "But you are not in the flesh but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you. Now if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His. And if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, He who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies through His Spirit who dwells in you."

20. From the Epistle to the Galatians (Galatians 4:6): "And because you are sons, God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying out, 'Abba, Father!'"

21. From the Epistle to Titus (Titus 3:5–6): "He saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal by the Holy Spirit,

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whom He poured out on us abundantly through Jesus Christ, our Savior.”

22. From St. Dionysius, in the second book *On the Divine Names*: “...and the Spirit of Truth, who proceeds from the Father.”

23. From the same book: “But even Those who are of the supersubstantial Divine essence do not turn into one another; the singular Source of the supersubstantial Divinity is the Father, so that neither does the Father become the Son, nor the Son become the Father.”

24. From the same book: “From the Sacred Scriptures, we have learned that the Father is the Source of Divinity; the Son and the Spirit are of Divine essence. They are, if one may speak so, God-planted Branches and like Flowers and supersubstantial Lights. How this takes place cannot be spoken of or comprehended.”

25. From the same author, in the book *On Mystical Theology*, chapter 3: “As from the immaterial and indivisible Good, Lights of Benevolence are begotten, issuing forth from the heart.”

26. From St. Athanasius, in the first letter to Serapion: “For just as the Only-Begotten, the Son, is begotten, so too the Spirit is given and sent by the Son. He is one, not many, nor one from many, but uniquely the Spirit. For just as the Son is the Living Word, so there must be one perfect and complete, sanctifying and enlightening Life, which is His operation and Gift, said to proceed from the Father, since from the Word, confessed to be from the Father, He shines forth, is sent, and is given.”

27. From the same, in the book *On the Holy Spirit*: “If they thought rightly about the Son, they would think rightly about the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and, being proper to the Son, is given by Him to the Disciples and to all who believe in Him.”

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28. From the same, in the homily beginning with: “We believe in one God”: “The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, is always in the hands of the sending Father and the carrying Son.”

29. From the same, in the 46th chapter of the treatise On the Common Nature of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: “God is the Origin of all, according to the Apostle, who says: ‘God the Father, from whom are all things’; for the Word is from Him by way of begetting, and the Spirit is from Him by way of proceeding.”

30. From the First Ecumenical Council: “The First Holy and Ecumenical Council answered the doubting philosopher through the mouth of the blessed Leontius of Caesarea: ‘Receive the one Divinity of the Father, who ineffably begot the Son, and of the Son, begotten from Him, and of the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the same Father, but proper also to the Son, as the divine Apostle says: “If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.”’”

31. From the Second Ecumenical Council: “And the Second Council, speaking divinely, decreed: ‘And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is worshiped and glorified.’”

32. From St. Basil, in the book Against the Arians, Sabellians, and Eunomians: “Judaism contends with Hellenism. Thus, what we said regarding the Son, that we must confess His Person, we must also say regarding the Holy Spirit: for the Father and the Spirit are not the same, as it is written: ‘God is Spirit,’ and likewise, the Person of the Son and the Spirit are not the same, as it is said: ‘If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him.’”

33. And further: “Here (in Romans 8:9), some have erred, believing that the Spirit and Christ are one and the same. But what do we say (regarding this verse)? That it refers to the kinship of nature,

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not the confusion of Persons. For the Father, possessing perfect and self-sufficient being, is the Root and Source of the Son and the Spirit.”

34. And further: “There is only one true Spirit. Just as there are many sons (of God), but only one true Son, so, although it is said that all things are from God, strictly speaking, the Son is from God and the Spirit is from God. For the Son proceeded (ἐξῆλθεν) from the Father, and the Spirit proceeds (ἐκπορεύεται) from the Father; but the Son is from the Father by way of generation, and the Spirit from God in an ineffable manner.”

35. And further: “I know the Spirit with the Father and know that He is not the Father. I know Him through the Son but do not claim He is called the Son. I understand the propriety in relation to the Father, since He proceeds from the Father, and the propriety in relation to the Son, since I hear: ‘If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him.’”

36. From the same, to his brother Gregory, on the distinction between essence and hypostasis: “For the Son, through whom all things exist, and with whom the Holy Spirit is understood indivisibly, is from the Father. For no one can know the Son unless first illumined by the Spirit. Behold, the Holy Spirit, from whom all good gifts flow as from a fountain to creation, is united with the Son, is inseparably understood with Him, and has the Father as the cause of His being, from whom He proceeds. His distinct mark of personal hypostatic property is to be known after the Son and with the Son and to have being from the Father. The Son, revealing the Spirit, through whom and with whom He proceeds from the Father, is the only-begotten Light from the Unbegotten Light. As to personal hypostatic property, He has nothing in common with the Father or the Holy Spirit. God (the Father), who is above all, uniquely has the distinctive property of His Hypostasis—to be the Father and to have no cause of His being.”

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37. From the same, in the exposition of Faith sent for signature to Eustathius of Sebaste: “We do not say that the Holy Spirit is unbegotten, for we know only one Unbegotten and one Beginning—the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; nor do we say that the Holy Spirit is begotten, for in the tradition of faith we have been taught that there is only one Begotten. But we confess that the Spirit of Truth proceeds from the Father, and we declare that He has His being from God, but not in the same way that creation has its being (uncreatedly, ἀκτίστως).”

38. From the same, in the commentary on Psalm 32: “Just as the creative Word established the heavens, so this also applies to the Spirit, who is from God and who proceeds from the Father—that is, who is ‘from His mouth.’ Thus, you should not think that He is external or among created things, but glorify Him as having Hypostasis from God.”

39. And further: “We find other places where it is said: ‘The Word of His mouth,’ so it is evident that the Savior and the Holy Spirit are from the Father. Therefore, since the Savior is called ‘the Word of the Lord,’ and the Holy Spirit is ‘the Spirit of His mouth,’ both were active in the creation of the heavens and the powers within them. Thus, it is written: ‘By the Word of the Lord, the heavens were established, and by the Spirit of His mouth, all their power.’”

40. From the same, in the book *On the Holy Spirit*, chapter 16: “Let no one think I am saying there are three original Hypostases, for there is one Origin of all, working and accomplishing through the Son and in the Spirit: ‘By the Word of the Lord, the heavens were established, and by the Spirit of His mouth, all their power.’ Thus, the Word is not merely the sound wave in the air produced by the organs of speech, nor is the Spirit of His mouth merely breath expelled by the organs of respiration. The Word is ‘in the beginning with God and

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was God,' and the Spirit of God's mouth is 'the Spirit of Truth who proceeds from the Father.'"

41. From the same author, in the book against the Arians: "In Him, there is nothing that He ever later acquired; rather, He eternally possesses all things, as the Spirit of God, revealed by Him, having Him as His Cause, as though He were the Source of Himself, from whom He proceeds. Yet He Himself is also the Source of the aforementioned blessings. Proceeding from the Father, He exists as a hypostasis. This Holy Spirit, God has richly poured out upon us through Jesus Christ."

42. From St. Gregory of Nyssa, First Book of the Antirrhetic, chapter 22: "We confess the Father as uncreated and unbegotten, for He was neither made nor born. Thus, uncreatedness is a shared property of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; but unbegottenness and Fatherhood are personal properties unique to Him alone and not shared by the other Persons. The Son, in the concept of uncreatedness, is united with the Father and the Spirit, but as He is and is called the Son, this is His personal property, not shared by either the Father or the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, sharing in the uncreated essence of the Father and the Son, is also distinct from them through His personal marks. His unique characteristic is that He possesses nothing of the personal properties of the Father or the Son. He exists neither as begotten nor as unbegotten, but simply exists—this being His personal property concerning the Father and the Son. He is one with the Father in uncreatedness but is distinct from Him in not being 'Father' as He is. United with the Son by their shared uncreated essence and by receiving His being from God, He is still distinct by His personal property, namely that He proceeds from the Father not as the Son does and through the Son."

43. From the same book, chapter 26: "In this essence, the Father is understood as eternal, unbegotten, and always the Father;

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from Him, inseparably related, the Only-Begotten Son is known along with the Father. Through Him and with Him, before any empty or non-substantial thought could divide Them, the Holy Spirit is immediately recognized in the closest unity—not later in being than the Son, so that one could imagine the Son without the Spirit, but having His cause of existence from God as does the Only-Begotten Light. Proceeding through the True Light, He is not separated from the Father or the Son by time or by nature.”

44. From the same book, chapter 36: “It is better for us to think not of rays issuing from the sun but of another Sun, Unbegotten, from which Another Sun shines forth by birth, equal to the First in beauty, power, brilliance, greatness, and light—in all that pertains to a sun. Then let us conceive of another Light, similar in nature, which, like the Second Sun, is not separated by any interval of time from the First, but shines forth through Him, receiving its personal cause from the Archetypal Light. It, too, is Light, equal in nature to the Light before it, illuminating and performing all that pertains to Light.”

45. From the same book, at its conclusion: “Just as the Son is united with the Father and receives His being from Him, yet is not later in existence than the Father, so too the Holy Spirit is related to the Son. Only in the concept of causation is the Son considered prior to the Spirit in hypostasis; time has no place in Eternal Life. Thus, when the idea of causation is set aside, the Holy Trinity is seen as perfectly harmonious and without discord within itself.”

46. From his Catechetical Oration: “Just as we hear of the Word of God as willing, acting, and omnipotent, so too are we taught about the Spirit of God. We envision Him as existing with the Word and manifesting His action—not as a breath without existence, but as a Power in essence, having His personal Hypostasis, proceeding from the Father and abiding in the Son.”

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47. From his Discourse on the Holy Trinity: "We say that the Divinity is consubstantial and three-hypostatic, for both the Old and New Testaments declare one God with the Word and the Spirit. Thus, it is necessary to reason in this way regarding the Divine Nature: the Father remains the Father and does not become the Son; the Son remains the Son and is not the Father; the Spirit remains the Spirit and does not become either the Son or the Father but remains the Holy Spirit. For the Father begets the Son and is the Father, the Son is the begotten Word and remains the Son, and the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, remains the Holy Spirit."

48. From the same: "The personal property of the Father lies in the fact that He has His being from no cause, and this cannot be said of the Son or the Spirit, for the Son proceeds from the Father, as Scripture says, and the Spirit proceeds from God and the Father."

49. From his commentary on 'In the beginning was the Word': "The Word acknowledges one Principle, not two, as the Manicheans claim. There is no 'first cause,' 'second cause,' and 'third cause,' as taught by Plato, Basilides, Marcion, Arius, and Eunomius. According to Orthodox Faith, the Father is called the Principle, and so are the Son and the Spirit—not to suggest three principles but because of their consubstantiality. The Father is called God, the Son is called God, and the Spirit is called God—not to promote tritheism but because of the one Divine essence shared by the Three Hypostases. The Father is called the Principle of the Son and the Spirit not for any other reason than that He is the One from whom They proceed. In terms of causation, the Father is prior, but not in terms of existence."

50. From his discourse to Ablabius: "By confessing the unchangeableness of the Divine Nature, we do not deny distinctions concerning the Cause and those proceeding from the Cause. We believe that the distinction between Persons lies in this: one Person is

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the Cause, and the Others proceed from the Cause. Additionally, we understand a distinction between Those who proceed: One proceeds immediately from the First, while the Other proceeds from the First through the One who is immediate. Thus, the unique property of being the Only-Begotten belongs to the Son, and it is undeniable that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. The Son's intermediary role preserves His Only-Begotten status and ensures the Spirit's natural relation to the Father."

51. From the book called "The Knowledge of God": "The Spirit proceeds from the Hypostasis of the Father; as Scripture states, 'The Spirit of His mouth,' and not 'the Word of His mouth.' From this, it must be understood that the property of bringing forth the Spirit belongs exclusively to the Father."

52. St. Gregory the Theologian, from his first discourse on the Holy Lights: "The Holy Spirit, indeed, proceeds from the Father, but not in the same way as the Son (i.e., not by birth), but through procession."

53. From his farewell discourse: "The Name of the Unoriginated is the Father; the Name of the Beginning is the Son; and the Name of the One Who is with the Beginning is the Holy Spirit. The nature of the Three is one; the union is in the Father, from whom and to whom the Others (i.e., the Son and Spirit) relate."

54. From his first discourse on the Son: "Thus, the One became Two through motion and stopped at Three. And this is for us: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The First is the Parent of the Son and the Emitter (Προβολεύς) of the Spirit—I speak in terms of passionlessness, timelessness, and incorporeality. The Second is Generation (i.e., the Son); the Third is Procession (i.e., the Holy Spirit)."

55. And a little later: "Therefore, remaining within our bounds, we introduce the Unbegotten, the Begotten, and the One

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Proceeding from the Father, as God Himself and His Word speak in one place."

56. From his discourse on the Holy Spirit: "He is either entirely unbegotten or begotten. And if He is unbegotten, then there will be two Unbegotten; but if He is begotten, division is introduced again: was He begotten by the Father or the Son? And if by the Father, then there will be two Sons, and They will be Brothers. If by the Son, behold, they will say, we now have a 'Grandson God'—what could be more absurd?"

57. And a little further: "Tell me, where will you place the One Who Proceeds, who stands between the two parts of your division and is introduced by a theologian greater than you—our very Savior? Or is it only for the sake of your 'third covenant' that you wish to exclude from your Gospels the saying, 'The Holy Spirit, Who proceeds from the Father'? Because insofar as He proceeds from there, He is not a creature; insofar as He is not begotten, He is not the Son; and insofar as He stands between the Unbegotten and the Begotten, He is God!"

58. From the same discourse: "When we consider the Godhead and the First Cause and the monarchy, what we behold is One; but when we consider the Persons in whom the Godhead exists and Those who come forth timelessly from the First Cause in equal glory, we have Three to worship."

59. From the discourse on the arrival of the Egyptian bishops: "The essence is called God and exists in the Three Greatest: the Originator, the Creator, and the Perfecter (Sanctifier). I mean, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who are not so separated from one another as to be three distinct and alien natures, nor so merged as to be confined within one Person."

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60. And a little further: "If everything that belongs to the Father belongs to the Son, except causality, then likewise everything that belongs to the Son belongs to the Spirit, except Sonship."

61. From the discourse on the dogma and the appointment of bishops:

"To whom would the Son belong if not to the Father as the Cause? One must not diminish the Father's dignity of being the Beginning, which belongs to Him as Father and Parent. For He would be the Beginning of something small and unworthy if He were not the Cause of the Divinity contemplated in the Son and Spirit. For it is necessary both to uphold faith in one God and to confess Three Hypostases, or Three Persons, each with Their personal property. Faith in one God is preserved, in my reasoning, when we refer both the Son and Spirit to one Cause, without blending or confusing Them with Him, according to the same divine essence."

62. From the same discourse: "Personal properties are preserved when we depict and call the Father Unbegotten and the Beginning—the Beginning as Cause, Source, and eternal Light."

63. And further from the same discourse: "You hear of generation? Do not seek to know the manner of generation. You hear that the Spirit proceeds from the Father? Do not pry into how He proceeds."

64. From his discourse on Pentecost: "If everything that belongs to the Son belongs to the First Cause, then likewise everything that belongs to the Spirit belongs to the First Cause."

65. And a little later: "Everything the Father has belongs to the Son, except unbegottenness; everything the Son has belongs to the Spirit, except begottenness."

66. From his discourse on moderation in disputes: "We must acknowledge one Father, unoriginated and unbegotten, one Son, begotten of the Father, and one Spirit, having His being from God.

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We must attribute to the Father the personal property of being unbegotten, to the Son the property of being begotten, and all else is of one essence, co-enthroned, equally glorious, and equally honored. This we must know, this we must confess, and here we must set our boundaries, while rejecting idle chatter and the unlearned innovations of reasoning."

67. From his discourse to the philosopher Heron: "Confess the one Holy Spirit, who has gone forth or proceeds from the Father."

68. And a little further: "Do not subordinate the Father, lest we introduce something prior to the First, thereby overturning the essence of the First. Likewise, do not render the Son or the Holy Spirit unoriginated, lest we strip the Father of His property. For They are not unoriginated, and yet, in some sense, They are without beginning, which is truly wondrous! They are not unoriginated concerning the Cause—for They, like light from the sun, are from God, though not after Him. But They are without beginning concerning time."

69. And a little further: "To the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit belong the shared properties of unbeginning existence and divinity. But to the Son and Spirit belongs their being from the Father. The distinctive property of the Father is unbegottenness, of the Son begottenness, and of the Holy Spirit procession."

70. From the book addressed to Evagrius: In the same way, the Father sends forth His rays to us—both the glorious Jesus and the Holy Spirit. Just as the rays of light possess an indivisible relation by nature and are neither separated from the light nor from one another while transmitting the benefit of light to us, so also do our Savior and the Holy Spirit, as the twin rays of the Father, bring the light of truth to us while remaining united with the Father.

71. From his first homily on the Son: How can they not share the absence of a beginning with the Father, if they are coeternal

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with Him? They proceed from Him, even though they are not after Him in time. For what lacks a beginning is eternal; yet what is eternal does not necessarily lack a beginning so long as it refers back to the Father as its principle. Thus, in relation to causation, they do not lack a beginning. However, it is evident that the cause is not necessarily prior in time to that which it causes, just as the sun does not precede its light in time. Therefore, in relation to time, they are without beginning.

72. From Pope Damasus of Rome, Acts of the Second Synod: If anyone does not say that the Holy Spirit proceeds truly and properly from the Father, as the Son is from the divine essence and is the Word of God, let them be anathema.

73. From St. Cyril's third letter to Nestorius: Although the Spirit exists in His own subsistence and is considered in Himself as the Spirit and not the Son, He is nonetheless not alien to the Son. For He is called the Spirit of Truth, and Christ is the Truth. He proceeds from Him no less truly than He proceeds from God the Father.

74. From the same author, in the letter to Emperor Theodosius: Granting forgiveness of sins to those who cleave to Him, He anoints them with His Spirit. As the Word of God the Father, He sends forth this Spirit and pours it into us from His own nature as from a fountain. Furthermore, having taken on human nature and the economy of the Incarnation, He also, as man, inspired others in a physical sense. For He breathed on the holy apostles and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit." He does not give the Spirit in measure, as John the Baptist said, but imparts Him fully, just as the Father does.

75. And a little further: Christ does not bestow the Spirit upon the baptized as something alien, as a servant or minister, but as God by nature, with supreme authority and power, since the Spirit proceeds from Him and through Him. Through this same Spirit, a divine character is imprinted upon us.

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76. From the interpretation of the sacred Creed: After completing their statement about Christ, the holy and blessed Fathers mentioned the Holy Spirit. They declared their belief in Him, in a manner similar to their belief in the Father and the Son. He proceeds, as from a fountain, from God the Father and is granted to creation through the Son. Thus, He breathed on the holy apostles, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit." Therefore, the Spirit is both from God and is God.

77. From his letter to John of Antioch: We in no way allow that the faith or the Creed formulated by the Fathers should be disturbed by anyone. We neither permit ourselves nor anyone else to alter even a single word or syllable of it, remembering the scripture: "Do not remove the ancient boundary stones which your fathers have set." For they did not speak on their own, but by the Holy Spirit of God the Father, who proceeds from Him and yet is not alien to the Son in terms of essence.

78. From his book on the Holy Trinity: In this holy and worshipful unity, three persons are recognized and believed in: the Father, without principle or cause, unbegotten, eternal; the one and only Son, begotten in an ineffable manner without passion and before all ages, from the substance of the Father, and thus of the same essence and dignity as the Father, entirely like Him and equal to Him in all things except paternity, having the Father as His principle and cause through generation; and finally, the Holy Spirit, life-giving and worthy of worship, proceeding from the Father—that is, from the substance of the Father—not through generation as the Son, so as not to introduce two Sons into the Trinity, but proceeding uniquely from the Father as breath proceeds from a mouth. Manifested through the Son, He spoke in all the holy prophets and apostles. Moreover, as I said, He is from the essence of the Father and the Son, sharing the same substance as the Father and the Son, yet distinct and utterly

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incommunicable to any creature in His essence, just as the Father and the Son are.

79. From the first book against Julian: The Son was begotten from the Father and exists in Him and from Him by nature. Likewise, the Spirit proceeds, being proper to God the Father and similarly to the Son. For the Father sanctifies what is fit to be sanctified through Him.

80. And at the end of the same book: The Spirit proceeds from the Father by nature and is ministered to creation through the Son.

81. From the second book against Julian: The very nature of the elements cannot, by its own power, escape corruption. To remain stable, it requires the hand of God holding it together. The prophet taught this when he said that the Spirit of God was moving over the waters. For all things receive life from the Spirit of God, since He is life by nature, proceeding from the life of the Father and from Him.

82. From the book *Thesaurus*: Speaking to the Jews, Christ says: "But if I cast out demons by the finger of God, then the kingdom of God has come upon you." Here, the "finger of God" refers to the Holy Spirit, who in a certain sense originates from the divine essence and naturally depends upon it, just as a finger depends on the human hand. Sacred Scripture refers to the Son as the "arm" and the "right hand" of God, as in: "His right hand and His holy arm have brought Him salvation," and again, "O Lord, Your arm is exalted; they did not know, but when they come to know, they will be ashamed." Just as the arm is naturally joined to the whole body and performs whatever the mind desires, often using the finger to anoint, so we must understand that the Word of God is naturally joined and emanates from Him. Likewise, the Spirit proceeds naturally and essentially from the Father through the Son, sanctifying all things. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not alien or foreign to the divine nature but originates from it and

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remains in it naturally. Just as a finger is of the same nature as the hand and the hand of the same substance as the body, so too is the Spirit of the same essence as the Father and the Son.

83. And a little further: He clearly shows that the Holy Spirit is not alien to the essence of the Son but exists in Him and from Him, as a natural power capable of accomplishing whatever the Son wills.

84. From his letter to the monks:

The Spirit is poured forth or proceeds, as from a fountain, from God the Father and is bestowed upon creation through the Son.

85. To Palladius: The Spirit is in no way mutable, for if He were subject to change, this defect would affect the very nature of God. Since the Spirit is of God the Father and the Son, proceeding substantially from both—namely, from the Father through the Son—He is immutable.

86. And in the ninth response: The Holy Spirit proceeds from God the Father, as the Savior Himself said, yet He is not alien to the Son. For the Spirit possesses everything together with the Father, as Christ Himself taught, saying of the Holy Spirit: “All that the Father has is mine; therefore, I said that He will take from what is mine and declare it to you.” Thus, the Holy Spirit glorified Jesus by performing marvelous works, yet He did so as His Spirit, not as a foreign power, for the Spirit, as God, is superior and inseparable from Him.

87. These things St. Cyril proclaimed in opposition to Nestorius, who claimed that Christ performed miracles through a foreign power, as though He were merely an ordinary man or one of the prophets. However, Theodoret, upon noting that Cyril referred to the Spirit as proper to the Son, stated: “If by saying ‘proper Spirit of the Son,’ he means that the Spirit is of the same nature as Him and proceeds from the Father, then we shall confess and accept this as pious teaching. But if he claims that the Spirit derives His existence

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from the Son or through the Son, we shall reject this as blasphemy and impiety. We believe the Lord, who said, ‘The Spirit of Truth proceeds from the Father,’ and also the holy Apostle Paul, who likewise stated: ‘We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God the Father.’” When Cyril heard this and understood it well, he offered no response but instead published a book on the Holy Trinity, where he affirmed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

88. From St. John Chrysostom, First Book Against the Anomoeans, found in the Margarita: I know that God is everywhere, and that all of Him is everywhere. But how this is so, I do not know. I know that He begot the Son, but how He begot Him, I do not know. I know that the Spirit is from Him, but how the Spirit is from Him, I do not know.

89. From his book On the Holy Trinity: I believe in one God, the Father Almighty. I believe—I do not investigate. I believe—I do not pursue the incomprehensible. I believe in one and only true Almighty God.

90. And shortly after: I also believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, who was begotten from Him before all ages, in a manner known only to Him who was begotten.

91. And again: I also believe in the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father and completes the Trinity. In Him, I place my trust for my sanctification; in Him, I place my trust for the resurrection of the dead.

92. From another discourse on the Annunciation and against Arius: I, instructed by the Holy Scriptures, honor the Father, who has always been Father; I honor the Son, who shines forth from the Father’s essence before time began; I honor the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son.

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93. From a sermon on the Holy Spirit: So that, as I was saying, no one hearing of the Spirit of God might think this signifies mere familiarity and not a sharing of the divine nature, Paul says: "You have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God." The Spirit is also called the Spirit of the Father, as the Savior told the apostles: "Do not worry about how or what you should speak, for it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you." Just as Scripture speaks of the Spirit of God and adds that He is "from God," it also calls Him the Spirit of the Father. And to prevent anyone from thinking this speaks only of familiarity, the Savior confirms this, saying: "When the Comforter comes, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father." In one place, He is said to be "from God," and in another, "from the Father." What the Son claimed for Himself, saying, "I came forth from the Father," He also attributes to the Holy Spirit, saying, "Who proceeds from the Father." What does "proceeds" mean? He did not say "is begotten," for what is not written cannot be presumed. The Son is begotten from the Father; the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Do you ask me the difference—how the Son is begotten and how the Spirit proceeds? What is the matter here? When you learned that the Son is begotten, did you comprehend the manner? Do you think that when you hear the term "Son," you grasp the mode of His generation? These are names, beloved, to be revered with faith and preserved with pious thought.

94. From St. Epiphanius of Cyprus in the book *Anchoratus*: Thus we believe that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God, the perfect Spirit, the Comforter, uncreated, proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son.

95. From the letter of Pope Celestine to Nestorius: Blasphemous words against God must not disturb the purity of the ancient faith. Who has ever escaped condemnation who either added

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to or detracted from the faith? For what has been fully and clearly handed down to us by the apostles requires neither addition nor diminution. We read in the Scriptures that nothing is to be added or removed, for great punishment binds both the one who adds and the one who takes away.

96. From St. Maximus, chapter 63 of his commentary on the prophet Zechariah: The Holy Spirit is of the nature of God the Father in substance, and likewise of the nature of the Son in substance, proceeding inexplicably from the Father substantially through the Son.

97. From his dialogue with Macedonius: The Son is begotten from the substance of the Father, and thus is the only-begotten Son. The Holy Spirit proceeds from the substance of the Father.

98. From the same: One God, the Father, the begetter of the one Son, and the source of the one Holy Spirit: unity without confusion and Trinity without division. The Mind without origin, the sole eternal parent of the Word who is eternally existent, and of the eternal life, that is, the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from Him.

99. From his scholia on St. Dionysius' *On the Divine Names*: God the Father, without temporal movement and by the power of love, proceeds into the distinction of persons, remaining indivisibly and undiminished in His totality, supremely united and supremely simple. Through His own Splendor, He brings forth the living Image and the Holy Spirit, who is to be worshiped and proceeds eternally from the Father, as the Lord teaches.

100. From his exposition of the Lord's Prayer: The Son and the Holy Spirit truly coexist in essence with the Father. They are by nature from Him and in Him, beyond causality and human comprehension.

101. From Justin, philosopher and martyr, in his book *On the Faith*, chapter 11: Since the Father begot the Son from His own

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essence and produced the Spirit from the same essence, it is fittingly and rightly understood that one and the same divinity is shared by those who partake of the same essence.

102. And shortly after: Just as the Son is from the Father, so also is the Spirit, except that there is a difference in the manner of existence. The Son is light from light through generation; the Spirit is also light from light, but not through generation—rather, through procession. Thus, He is coeternal with the Father, the same according to essence, proceeding without passion. In the Trinity, we understand unity, and in unity, we acknowledge Trinity.

103. From St. John of Damascus, seventh book *On the Holy Spirit*: When we are taught of the Spirit of God, who is the companion of the Word of God and declares His power, we do not conceive of a mere breath without subsistence. Rather, we understand Him as a substantial power, who exists in His own distinct person. He proceeds from the Father, rests in the Word, and declares and reveals Him.

104. From the eighth book: We believe in one Father, the origin and cause of all, unbegotten, who alone is without cause or generation, the Creator of all things. He is uniquely the Father by nature of His only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the producer of the Holy Spirit.

105. From the same book: Though the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, this procession is not in the manner of generation but rather as a distinct procession. This mode of existence differs from that of the Son and, like the generation of the Son, surpasses human comprehension and understanding.

106. From the same book: The Father alone is unbegotten (having His existence from no other hypostasis), the Son alone is begotten (eternally and timelessly begotten of the Father's essence),

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and the Holy Spirit alone proceeds from the Father's essence—not by generation but by procession.

107. Likewise, we believe in one Holy Spirit, the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son, and who is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son.

108. From the same book: The Holy Spirit is wholly like the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father, imparted through the Son, and perceived by all creation.

109. From the same book: The Holy Spirit is inseparable and never departs from the Father and the Son, possessing all that the Father and the Son have, except for unbegottenness and generation.

110. Truly, the Holy Spirit is from the Father, not by generation but by procession. We understand that there is a difference between generation and procession, but the manner of this difference remains unknown to us. Both the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit proceed from the Father. Whatever the Son and the Spirit have, they receive from the Father, including their very existence. If the Father did not exist, neither would the Son nor the Spirit. Moreover, if the Father lacked something, so too would the Son and the Spirit lack it. Thus, because the Father exists, so too do the Son and the Spirit. The Father is the source of all that the Son and the Spirit possess, except for the unique properties of unbegottenness, begottenness, and procession. In these hypostatic properties alone do the three holy persons of the Trinity differ.

111. Again: It must be understood that we do not say the Father derives His being from any other, but we confess Him as the Father of the Son. We do not call the Son a cause or father but confess Him as from the Father and the Father's Son. Similarly, we confess the Holy Spirit as from the Father and call Him the Spirit of the Father. However, we do not say the Spirit is from the Son but call Him the

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Spirit of the Son, revealed and imparted to us through the Son. Yet, we do not say the Son exists through the Spirit or from the Spirit.

112. From the same book: When considering the mutual relationship of the divine persons, I know that the Father is the transcendent source, the fountain of goodness, and the abyss of being, reason, wisdom, power, light, and divinity. He is the begetter and producer of the Son and, through the Word, the source of the manifesting Spirit.

113. Again from the same book: The Father is the fountain and origin of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. He alone is the Father of the Son and the producer of the Spirit. The Son is the Son, the Word, wisdom, power, image, radiance, and exact imprint of the Father, and He is from the Father. The Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Father but the Spirit of the Father, proceeding from Him. He is also called the Spirit of the Son, not as deriving His existence from the Son but as being manifested and imparted through Him.

114. From the same book: The Holy Spirit is also God, the sanctifying power, existing in His own hypostasis, proceeding from the Father without separation and resting in the Son, consubstantial with the Father and the Son.

115. From his letter to Jordan: For us, there is one God—the Father, His Word, and His Spirit. The Word is begotten, subsisting in Himself, and thus is the Son. Likewise, the Spirit is subsisting in Himself as a procession and emanation from the Father, yet through the Son, but not deriving His being from the Son. He is the Spirit of the Word, proclaiming the Word of God.

116. From his oration on the burial of the divine body of the Lord: This is the Godhead we worship: the Father, the begetter of the Son, unbegotten Himself because He is from no one; the Son, the offspring of the Father, begotten of the Father; the Holy Spirit of God and the Father, proceeding from Him, who is also called the Spirit of

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the Son, for He is made manifest and imparted through Him to creation, though His being is not from the Son.

117. From Saint Gregory of Nyssa's commentary on the Lord's Prayer: While the Son and the Holy Spirit share the characteristic of not being unbegotten, the unique properties of each remain distinct, ensuring no confusion in their personal distinctions. The Son is uniquely described in Scripture as begotten of the Father. The Spirit, however, is said to proceed from the Father and is also called the Spirit of the Son. If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, they do not belong to Him. Thus, the Spirit proceeds from God and is also the Spirit of Christ. Yet the Son, while being from God, is not the Son of the Spirit, nor is this relational sequence reversible.

118. Analogies from the First Holy and Universal Synod: The Father is likened to the mind, fire, and fountain; the Son to reason, radiance, and the stream; and the Spirit to breath, light, and water. The second and third proceed from the first: the word and spirit come from the mind, radiance and light from fire, and the stream and water from the fountain. Yet the third does not proceed from the second, nor the second from the third. The Spirit is inseparable from the Son, as the Son is inseparable from the Father. Together, they share perfect equality and unity.

119. The Second Holy Synod, proclaiming divinely that the Holy Spirit is "the Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, and who is to be worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son," established this doctrine definitively.

120. From Saint Gregory the Wonderworker, as revealed to him by John the Evangelist and Theologian: There is one God, the Father of the living Word, of the subsisting Wisdom, and of His own Power and Image—perfect, the begetter of the perfect, the Father of the only-begotten Son. There is one Lord, the only one from the only

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one, the figure and image of divinity, God from God. There is one Holy Spirit, deriving His substance from God and manifesting through the Son to humanity—the perfect image of the perfect Son, the life and cause of all living things.

121. From the prayer of John, the humble monk and priest of Damascus, on Holy Saturday, beginning with the words "Who can recount the mighty acts of the Lord?", a little after the introduction: God is the author and origin of all things, Himself derived from no other, and thus unbegotten. He has the Word within Himself, truly subsisting and co-eternal with Him, born of Him without flux or time. The Word is in no way separated from the Father, for He is perfect God, wholly like His begetter, except for unbegottenness. He is identical to the Father in essence, power, will, operation, kingdom, and dominion, yet not without origin or cause (for He is from the Father). He did not begin in time (for the Father never existed without the Son), since the Father is undoubtedly the Father of the Son. Nor will He be Father without the Son, who exists together with the Father in equality. The Son is born indivisibly from the Father and remains in Him without exceeding or departing from Him, for He is the Father's Wisdom and truly subsisting Power. By nature, He is God, of the same substance as the Father. The Son is not without the Spirit, nor is He understood apart from Him. For the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, sharing the same power, will, and operation, being equal in eternity and subsisting in Himself. The Spirit exists in a mode distinct from the Son, proceeding in a certain divine and incomprehensible manner. He is entirely like the Father and the Son—good, sovereign, Lord, creator, and by nature God, sharing the same substance as the Father and the Son. Together they reign as one, worshipped by all creation with equal glory and veneration. This is the Godhead we serve: the Father, the begetter of the Son, Himself unbegotten because He is from no one; the Son, the

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offspring of the Father, begotten from Him; and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from God the Father and is also called the Spirit of the Son, for He is manifested and imparted to creation through the Son, though His existence is not derived from the Son. The End.

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THE SYLLOGISTIC CHAPTERS OF MARK OF EPHESUS AGAINST THE LATINS ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT FROM THE FATHER ALONE.

1. If indeed the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, He would proceed from Them either 1) as from two Hypostases, or 2) as from their common essence, or 3) from their generating (or originating) power (ἐκ τῆς ἀροβλητικῆς δυνάμεως). If He proceeded from the Father and the Son as from two Hypostases, then clearly there would be two Sources, two Causes, and two Originators in the Divine Trinity, and thus the unity of origin and the fact that the Father is the “only Source of the divine essence” would be disrupted. But if the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son in the sense of proceeding from their common essence, first of all, it has never been heard of until now that anyone would say that a third Hypostasis proceeding from two Hypostases would not proceed from them, but from some common essence. Thus, we return again to the first position. For the Hypostasis is nothing other than an essence with a personal characteristic; hence, what proceeds from the essence of one or two must also proceed from the Hypostasis or Hypostases.

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Moreover, the property of the Divine essence to generate is not simple, for it is the Spirit, and it generated something different from itself, though of the same common essence. But if the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son in the sense of proceeding from the “generating power,” which belongs to Both, the question is: what is this “generating power,” and is it distinct from the essence, or is it one with it? And if it is one with it, then again the same arguments bring about the same absurdities. But if it is something other than the essence, then we would have to admit that something distinct from God’s essence is being attributed to Him, which, while disputed in other matters, (it would be better) for them (the Latins) to avoid these words rather than accept them as an object of confession. Moreover, would it not be absurd to consider as something distinct from the Divine essence the very thing that generates the Divine essence or Hypostasis? But, thus, they would again not avoid two origins, for what is born of a father and a mother proceeds from their generating power or their generating power, which is common to both, though differing in form; yet, nevertheless, proceeding from two Hypostases, it has two sources of its birth, and no one would deny this. So too, if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the generating power of the Father and the Son, He will have two sources of His being.

“But even the creature,” they say, “existing from the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, through Their creative power, came into being from the one God and Creator, and has one Source – the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. So what then prevents the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, from being from one God and Originator (Προβολ?ως) and having one Source – the Father and the Son?”

(But asking the question in this way), you will free us, dearest, from the labor (of discussing it) by clearly showing the Holy

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Spirit to be like the creatures. For if in the same way that the creature came from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, then what else is the Holy Spirit but a creature? But turning back to you, I will say the opposite and more pious, namely – that so simply, indeed, the matter stands regarding the creature, but not so regarding the Holy Spirit. For that which in the matter of creation came from two or many persons, can be said to have come from one, speaking in terms of the concept of creation, and this is not only in terms of Divine creation, in which the same will, desire, wisdom, power, and action (energy) exist, but also in terms of human creation and our own; for the same concept of art in its various aspects is one, and all the arts are one. Therefore, what has come from many persons can be said to have come from one, and one has a principle (source). But as for that which has being from two by nature, no one could say that it comes from one; nor is it possible – to conclude that each of these two has the same mode of producing being; moreover, the Latins themselves say that the procession of the Spirit is different – from the Father and differently – from the Son, and in the first case (they say) it is directly, and in the second – indirectly. Thus, they cannot avoid two origins unless they are willing to fall into many absurdities. “What prevents,” they say, “it from having indeed two Sources, but of course, one under the other, so that from two it becomes one. This is what Gregory the Theologian also says: ‘Source from Source.’”

If you mean Sources in the sense that one is somewhat closer and the other farther, I don’t know, truly, whether they will form one Source – by the subordination of one to the other, or whether they will remain two, because they are really distinct from each other. Think about this. Each of these two Sources is more one than the other and less one than the other: in one case it is more, in the other – less; the one that is closer is the greater Source, because it is closer; the

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one that is farther is a greater source because it encompasses within it the one that is closer. If they are thus distinct, how will they become one (Source)? Who would say that Adam and Seth are one source of Enos, though each of them is a source, one closer, the other farther? How would they be one source? How can we bear the blasphemy of those who, by framing the question in this way about Sources, distance the Spirit far (πόρρω) from the Hypostasis of the Father and proclaim Him as it were the "Grandson" (of the Father)? Meanwhile, it is said: "...proceeding from the Father" and "the Spirit proceeding from the Father's Hypostasis." But what Gregory the Theologian said, he said comparatively in relation to the creature, as if he had said: "Creator from Creator," as "Light from Light" and "God from God," and "Good from Good"; He is in everything, as the Father, One God with Him, and the One Light, and the One Good, and the One Source of all creation. "All things were made through Him," says the Evangelist, "and without Him nothing was made that was made" (John 1:3). And what was not created, certainly is not from Him and not by Him, i.e., in our case – the Holy Spirit (for He is uncreated. A.A.). What precisely this was that Gregory the Theologian meant in his saying is clear from the fact that elsewhere he says: "Unbegotten and the Source and the One Who is with the Source, the One God." He did not say: "The One Who is from the Source," but "with the Source" – proceeding from the Unbegotten, of course. And if indeed he thought that the Son is the Source of the Spirit, where would he have had a better opportunity to express this, oh, most stubborn of men?! But neither he nor anyone else from our theologians thinks in this way, though you might waste time (trying to find and prove this).

2. "The Spirit," says the Theologian of Nyssa, "proceeds from the Father's Hypostasis"⁶. But if He proceeds also from the Son's Hypostasis, what else does this signify, except that He proceeds from two Hypostases? And if He proceeds from two Hypostases, what else

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is it but that He has two Beginnings of His Being? Thus, as long as the Latins assert that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, they will not escape dual beginnings.

3. If both the Son is from the Father and the Spirit is from the Father, then why wouldn't the Spirit also be the Son? – Because They differ from each other, according to the theologians, in their mode of being, and the Spirit proceeds from the Father in a different manner than the Son, not by birth. But if the Spirit, proceeding from the Father, is not the Son, what then is the exact distinction between the Son and the Spirit, both in relation to the Father and in relation to each other? For if from the Father proceed both the Son and the not-Son, but Something Else, it is clear that, in relation to the Father, They differ in their mode of being (substance) and are, as caused (i.e., proceeding from the Cause), in relation to the Cause. As for the relation to each other, They are distinguished by the very contradiction of their opposite statements: for it is evident that "to be the Son" is contradicted by "not to be the Son." Thus, beyond this, I say that there is no need for the opposition of states to distinguish the Son from the Spirit, since the very contradiction of their opposite statements makes the distinction (between Them).

4. Not wishing to follow the generally accepted principles of theology, but inventing others, the Latins, in support of their teaching, do not distinguish, as we do, what is common to God (for we say that one thing is common to all the Persons of the Holy Trinity, while another is personal and proper to each Divine Person), but make some other distinction, saying that one thing is "personal," another "common," and another "most common" (κοινότατα, communissinia): that which pertains to One Person they call "personal," that which pertains to Two is "common," and that which pertains to all Three is "most common." But this distinction is unusual, and by custom is a novelty of the Latins, as is clear from their

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own words. But let us examine what they mean by "common" and not "most common." – This means to be from the Father, specifically "to be from the Cause" ("causality" το αἰτιωτόν), and also "to be sent from Him" and similar expressions. But in relation to the Father and the Son, this means "sending the Spirit" and "pouring out" and "producing" and similar actions, which, they assert, is the same as "producing the Spirit by nature." Let us examine this question from the beginning. If "being from the Cause" ("causality") were something different from birth and procession when these expressions are used in relation to God, it might be appropriate to say that this is a common property for Two (the Persons of the Holy Trinity – the Son and the Holy Spirit). But if, in reasoning, it is impossible to accept "causality" by itself in relation to each of Them without implying the mode (for in one case, causality is birth, and in another, procession), then "causality" is one term that signifies two things: birth and procession; and these are the personal properties of each of Them. Therefore, what is "common" to these Two Persons in relation to the Father are precisely those personal properties by which They are distinguished both in relation to the Father and in relation to each other. As for the words "to send" and the like, it is best to understand them as "goodwill," as Gregory the Theologian says⁷, and refer them to the First Cause of all things, so as not to be enemies of God. Furthermore, what pertains to a particular time and once, for something and for some reason, should not be attributed to Divine properties, which are eternal and without beginning. This also applies to the "sending" (of the Holy Spirit), for what pertains to a specific time and was once for something and for a reason, it would not be reasonable to attribute it as a personal property to the Father and the Son in relation to the Spirit, let alone to the eternal and pre-existent procession of the Spirit. Moreover, the Spirit is not lacking the property of "sending," as is shown in the words of the Prophet,

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speaking on behalf of the Son: "The Lord sent Me and His Spirit" (Isaiah 48:16). If this is said in the sense that, only as a Man, He could be sent (by the Holy Spirit), how can this be confirmed? – Either show it, or do not reason about it. However, the divine Chrysostom, in his homily on the Holy Spirit, shows that in this place, from the words of Isaiah's prophecy, it is said in reference to the Father, Who may be sent by the Son and the Spirit⁸. Thus, "sending" would be "most common" and not "common," as the Latins think. Also, the procession of the Spirit in eternity is not "common" for the Father and the Son. Moreover, there is nothing surprising in the relation between the Son and the Spirit, if they share something in relation to the Father, for He is not only the Beginning, but also without beginning and without cause, and They, both of Them, have the Father as their Beginning. What then shall we ascribe to the Father and the Son that would also not belong to the Spirit? – But this is not allowed by Dionysius the Great, who clearly expresses this: "What is common to the Father and the Son is also common and proper to the Holy Spirit, as the Divine Word declares"⁹. And Gregory the Theologian says: "All that the Father has, the Son has, except the Cause; all that the Son has, the Spirit has, except Birth."

Let us further examine the matter of "sending." The Father is known in the Old Testament; the Son, however, was to be known in the New. Therefore, the sending of the Son is as if He was revealed by the Father in the world. Then, when the Son is known, the Holy Spirit was to be known as well; therefore, it is said that from the Father and the Son, who have already been known, He is sent, that is, He is revealed. For what else can "sending" and "sending away" from the omnipresent God, Who does not change His place, mean? Therefore, Christ says: "If I go, I will send Him to you" (John 16:7). It is clear that this is not about eternal procession, for He did not say: "If I do not go, I will not send (οὐ προβάλλω) the Comforter; but if I go,

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then I will send," but rather, "if I will be taken from your eyes, I will show you His grace and power." Moreover, since changing places is foreign to the concept of God (for this is the nature of bodies), if it is said about the "sending" of the Son, it is spoken in the sense of His coming into the world in the flesh. For "God sent His Son into the world, born of a woman" (Gal. 4:4); but when it is said about the "sending" of the Holy Spirit, Christ signifies His grace and action (energy), not the Hypostasis Itself. And that grace and action are one, but the Hypostasis is something different, the divine Chrysostom testifies, saying in his homilies on the Gospel of John: "The grace of the Spirit is sometimes called fire, sometimes water, signifying that these are not names of the essence, but of the action (energy)." And again: "Here the 'Spirit' should be understood in the sense of 'action' (energy): for it is divided, and it is sent; it is sent by the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, showing the common action of the Trinity, or rather the identical one"¹¹. Thus, there is nothing that is common to the Father and the Son that is not also common to the Spirit, as the famous Dionysius shows.

5. "The Spirit," says the Theologian of Nyssa, "proceeds from the Hypostasis of the Father." Who does not understand from this that the procession of the Spirit is an inherent, personal property of the Father? For, just as when we say that the Hypostasis of the Only-Begotten (Son) became incarnate, we express that this is not common to the Father and the Spirit, so also, when we say that the Hypostasis of the Father produces the Holy Spirit, we do not attribute this equally to the Son. Therefore, let the Latins either point to someone among the theologians who says that this happens also from the Hypostasis of the Son, or let it be clear from this that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father.

6. Having in the confession of the Holy Spirit as third (in order among the Persons of the Holy Trinity), after the Father and the

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Son, the Latins believe that on the basis of this order, they can prove that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son. For, if He did not have a relation to the Son in respect of His being, they say, He would not be counted as third, and would not have His place after Him. But, oh, venerable ones, I would say to you in answer to this that if the Son is second after the Father (for this is required by the order itself, and nothing else lies between Them), who else could the Holy Spirit be but third? For, undeniably, He is not first; second, by necessity, is the Son; and third, therefore, is the Holy Spirit, truly being the Fulfillment of this blessed Trinity. Therefore, I believe that this order was preserved by the theologians, so that, if the Spirit were placed immediately after the Father, people would not consider Him to be the Son; for when they speak absolutely, they also remove the very order. "For there is no, they say, ordinal reckoning in the Holy Trinity not because there is no ordinal reckoning in Her, but because She is above it"¹², and also: "The Same Ones (the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity) are both counted and reckoned and numbered under"¹³. So, how does this order serve your position, when it is not necessary that something which follows in order should have its being from that which precedes it? Let us also bring you Basil the Great, who speaks on this very issue: "Since," he says, "the Holy Spirit, from Whom all gifts of grace proceed to the created world, depends on the Son, with Whom He is directly known; but from the Father, He depends as the Cause of being, from Whom He proceeds; the sign of His personal hypostatic property is this: to be after the Son and with Him to be known and from the Father to have being"¹⁴. Do you hear this heavenly herald, what he says? – "From the Son," he says, "He depends," i.e., He is closely connected with Him; not that He proceeds from Him, but that He is known with Him directly as from the Father having being; "for the middle position of the Only-Begotten," as his brother Gregory of Nyssa says, "while preserving for

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Him the Only-Begottenness, does not remove the Spirit from the natural relationship with the Father." And further: "The recognitional sign of the Holy Spirit is this: to be after the Son and to be known with Him and from the Father to have being"¹⁵. What could be clearer or wiser than these words, or more in agreement with our teaching?!

7. The Latins think that something great speaks in favor of their opinion in that it is said of the Holy Spirit that He is the "Spirit of the Son," but I refer this also to the same as "proper to the Son" and "not alien to the Son," and to similar expressions. But does it follow from this that He proceeds from Him? The first Theodore would not allow this¹⁶, for by this he would introduce a blasphemous and ungodly teaching. Therefore, the divine Cyril also speaks in these words: "In no way do we allow altering a single word in what is there (in the Nicene Creed), nor to disturb a single syllable. For it was not they who spoke, but through them the Holy Spirit spoke, Who proceeds from the Father and God, but is not alien to the Son, according to the nature of the essence"¹⁷. Do you hear in what sense it is said – "the Spirit of the Son" and "proper to Him" and "not alien"? – "According to the nature of the essence" – He says – namely, as consubstantial with Him... And Basil the Great also says in the 18th chapter to Amphilochius: "It is said: the Spirit of Christ – as united to Him by nature"¹⁸. So, what better interpreter of the apostolic and his own words shall we seek, apart from those divine Teachers?

8. That after the Resurrection the Lord gives the Spirit to the Disciples through a breath, the Latins explain by saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from Him. But that it was not the very essence of the Spirit that was given then through the breath is evident from the fact that at that time the Holy Spirit had not yet come. "If I do not go..." says Christ, "the Comforter will not come to you" (John 16:7). And the divine Chrysostom testifies in his commentary on John, saying:

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"Some say that Christ did not give the Spirit to the Disciples then, but by His breath made them capable of receiving it. However, no one will err if he says that they did indeed receive some spiritual authority and grace to forgive sins, which is why He added: 'Whosoever sins you forgive, they are forgiven' showing thereby what kind of action (energy) He gives: for grace is immeasurable, and the gift is manifold. For, behold, even from Moses, receiving the Spirit, God gave it to others, and in the Lord Christ, all the grace of the Spirit rested. 'For God does not give the Spirit by measure.'" Therefore, even from Him, He gave and by it He performed miracles. "O Spirit of God," He says, "I will cast out demons"

9. Then, what is said, that the Holy Spirit is the "Image of the Son," they draw to support their dogma. – To this we say that there is absolutely no necessity, whether in art or in the nature of things, for an image to have as its cause the one it represents²⁰. For although it is said that the Son is the "Image of the Father," it is not in the sense that He relates to Him as the Cause, but in the sense that He represents and depicts Him within Himself, as He says to Philip in one place, "He who has seen Me has seen the Father" (John 14:9). Thus, the Holy Spirit is the "Image of the Son" not in the sense that He is the Cause of the Spirit, but in the sense that the Son could not be known otherwise except through the Holy Spirit. "For... no one," says the Apostle, "can say that Jesus is Lord except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:3). And then: "He will glorify Me, for He will take of what is Mine and declare it to you" (John 16:14). Explaining this, the divine Chrysostom says: "That is, He will declare to you what is in harmony with My words. For what is Mine is the Father's; He, by declaring to you from what is the Father's, will declare it from what is Mine"²¹. For just as the Son, having come to fulfill the Old Law, i.e., to perfect it and add what was lacking in it because of the weakness of the hearers, thereby glorified the Father who gave this Law (For "I

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have glorified You on earth," He says, "I have finished the work You gave Me to do" (John 17:4)), so the Holy Spirit, in turn, accomplishes the work of the Son. "I have many things to say to you," says (Christ to the Disciples), "but you cannot bear them now: however, when He, the Spirit of Truth, comes, He will guide you into all truth: for He will not speak of Himself, but whatever He hears, He will speak, and He will tell you of things to come" (John 16:12–14). "From what is Mine," He says, "He will take and declare to you," namely, that which is lacking. And this is the same work as the work of the Father, for "all that the Father has is Mine" (John 16:15). Thus, the Holy Spirit is the Image of the Son in the sense that He declares what belongs to the Son and glorifies the Son, receiving from His work and perfecting it, just as Christ Himself accomplished the work of the Father.

10. On "per Filium" in relation to the Procession of the Holy Spirit They believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds just as much from the Son as from the Father, asserting that the phrase "per" signifies the same as "ex" in Scripture. Indeed, "per" is equivalent where the discourse concerns creation, especially when it is applied separately to the Son apart from the Father. For instance, "All things," they say, "were made through Him." However, the procession of the Spirit is never stated separately from the Father; rather, it is said to originate from the Father and to be brought about through the Son. It is clear, therefore, that the phrase "through the Son" signifies something different than "from the Son," although, in truth, it does not even speak of procession but of bestowal. For John of Damascus says: "We name the Spirit as indeed the Spirit of the Son, but we do not say 'from the Son'; rather, we confess that it is made manifest through the Son and is imparted to us through Him." This distinction clearly demonstrates that the phrase "through the Son" signifies something entirely different from what the Latins mean by it. And if it were sometimes said in relation to the essential procession of the Spirit, we

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again invite the theologians to interpret their own words. Gregory of Nyssa states in his writings against Eunomius: "The Holy Spirit is understood conjointly with the Son, without being considered posterior to the Son, so that the Only Begotten is never thought of without the Spirit; rather, He also has the principle of His existence from the God of all things, from whom the Only Begotten Light shines forth through the true Light." Here, the words "without being considered posterior" mean the same as "through the Son," which elsewhere Gregory explicitly explains as equivalent to "with the Son." He writes: "Through Him and with Him, the Holy Spirit proceeds, before any intervening void or unsubstantial medium can be imagined." Chrysostom, while explaining the apostolic phrase, "That now through the Church the manifold wisdom of God might be made known to the rulers and authorities," understands "through the Church" as equivalent to "together with the Church." For the Church does not teach the angels.

In the same way, the phrase "through the Son" must be understood here. For the matter stands thus: When the Holy Spirit is said to proceed essentially from the Father, the addition of "through the Son" ensures that He is not regarded as another Son. The Father requires a Son corresponding to Himself, and thus the inclusion of the Son maintains the unique property of the Only Begotten and does not exclude the Spirit's natural relation to the Father. Gregory again says:

"The Son is called proximate to the First, for the name 'Son' implies the Father; however, the Holy Spirit is not described as proximate to the First but rather through that which is proximate to the First." This demonstrates the mutual relation and communion between the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, as well as the equal honor and shared nature of their procession from the Father. Thus, if the Father were called the Progenitor, the Spirit would be proximate to the

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Progenitor, and the Son, through the one who is proximate to the Progenitor—that is, the Spirit. Both proceed from the Father jointly and with equal honor. Therefore, the preposition "through" provides no support to the Latins for establishing their opinion. In fact, it shows the opposite. To confirm this further, let the most holy Maximus, a witness and confessor of the truth, testify. He writes in his epistle to Marinus, a presbyter of Cyprus: "The synodal letter of the most holy Pope of that time was not criticized by the citizens of the imperial city in all the chapters you mentioned, but only in two, one concerning theology, namely, that he said the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, and the other concerning the economy, namely, that he said the Lord was not without original sin as far as His humanity is concerned. Regarding the first, they cited statements from the Roman Fathers and Cyril of Alexandria in his commentary on the Gospel of John, from which it is shown that they did not make the Son the cause of the Spirit's procession (for they recognize the Father as the sole cause of the Son by generation and of the Spirit by procession), but rather that they signified that the Spirit proceeds through the Son, thereby demonstrating the shared substance and the absence of any difference in nature." Here, the Latins proceed contrary to the illustrious Maximus. For he, along with the Romans of his time and even the Pope, transfers the term "from" into "through" and states that this signifies the absence of any difference in substance. However, the Latins, disregarding the words of the Fathers and treating them with indifference, consider "through the Son" to mean the same as "from the Son," attributing the cause of the Spirit to the Son, which the Fathers explicitly denied. What could be more shameless in such contention?

11. Concerning the Attributes of the Divine Nature. Certain attributes that pertain to the divine nature are always spoken of in the singular, even though they are understood in the three persons. For

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example: God, Creator, King, Good, and similar terms (for we say one God, one Creator, one King, one Good, referring to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit). Other attributes, however, are always expressed in the plural, even if they are common only to two persons, such as "to be from a cause," which is spoken of the Son and the Spirit. For we say that two are "from a cause," not one. Since this is so, and the Latins attribute the principle of divinity to two persons—namely, the Father and the Son—we must ask them to which of the two they assign this principle. If they say it belongs to the latter (the Son), the absurdity will be evident, for there would then be two principles, just as there are two who are "from the principle," thereby opening the way to a duality of principles, and the celebrated unity of the principle would be abolished. But if they assign it to the former (the Father), a question arises as to how this can be. For if these things are both common and natural, they equally pertain to the three persons. Furthermore, even on this reasoning, they will fall into the same difficulty: the one principle, insofar as it is both generator and producer (that is, the Father alone), is not the same numerically as the one principle insofar as it is producer only (that is, the Father and the Son together, as they claim). Thus, in this way too, there are two causes and two principles, and they are surrounded on all sides by the duality of the principle. The Principle of Divinity and Its Application to Father and Son The principle of divinity, as the Latins themselves concede, applies differently to the Father and the Son, not in the same manner. It pertains to the Father insofar as He is both generator and producer, and to the Son insofar as He is producer only. However, the difference, according to the Fathers, implies a numerical distinction. Therefore, two principles of divinity are posited, and thus the unity of the principle is abolished by the Latins. Thomas Aquinas and the Distinction of Divine Persons: Thomas, the doctor of the Latins, considers that some form of opposition is required to distinguish the

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divine persons. He states that since material distinction has no place in divine matters, the opposition of relation is the sole basis for distinguishing the persons, as no other opposition is found. However, it must be shown that the opposition of contradiction is more suitable for distinguishing them, as all theologians agree that this is the only way the divine persons are separated. First, it is evident in divine matters that for any person, their mode of existence is sufficient to distinguish them from another. Moreover, theologians define the modes of existence in the divine persons as "unbegotten," "begotten," and "proceeding." Or, more universally, as "without a principle" and "from a principle," which, as is clear, are in contradictory opposition to one another—for "to have a principle" and "to lack a principle" are contradictory. Thus, the Father is distinguished from the Son and the Spirit by this contradictory opposition. The Son and the Spirit are similarly distinguished from each other by their proper modes of existence. For to originate through generation and to originate not through generation but through procession are their respective modes of subsistence and are mutually opposed in contradiction. Gregory the Theologian affirms this: "Proceeding indeed from the Father, but not in the manner of the Son; for it is not through generation, but through procession." Therefore, this distinction of contradiction, being in agreement with the truth and with all theologians, is indeed suitable for distinguishing all the divine persons. As for the distinction proposed by Thomas, which he considers the sole appropriate method—the distinction of relation—it separates the Father from those who proceed from Him (namely, the Son and the Spirit) but does not in any way separate the other persons from one another. For neither of the two is the principle of the other, nor is such a distinction supported by any theologian. On the contrary, the Fathers state: "The Father is the sole cause," as John of Damascus declares. Gregory of Nyssa also writes: "We understand another

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distinction in that which proceeds from the cause.” This distinction is different from that which exists between the cause and that which is from the cause. Indeed, the illustrious Dionysius pronounces it impious to say or think anything beyond what the sacred Scriptures, divinely revealed to us, proclaim.

12. The Principle of Divinity According to the Latins: The principle of divinity, as the Latins themselves have admitted, corresponds differently to the Father and the Son, not in one and the same way. Rather, it pertains to the Father as He is the Begetter and Emanator, but to the Son as He is only the Emanator. However, the difference between these, according to the Fathers, introduces a duality of principles. Thus, two principles of divinity are granted, and thereby, the unity of the principle is rejected by the Latins.

13. On the Distinction of Divine Persons: Thomas, the teacher of the Latins, held that some opposition is required to distinguish the divine persons. He asserted that, because a material distinction has no place in the divine, the opposition of relation alone serves as the reason for distinguishing the persons. He claimed no other opposition exists. Therefore, it must be shown that the opposition of contradiction is more suitable for distinguishing them, as all theologians agree that the divine persons are distinguished from one another solely by this kind of opposition. First, it is clear that in the divine, the mode of subsistence of any person is sufficient to distinguish it from another. Furthermore, theologians establish the modes of subsistence in the divine persons as unbegotten, begotten, and proceeding—or, more universally, as either lacking a principle or being from a principle. These modes, as is evident, are mutually opposed in contradiction. For to have a principle and not to have a principle are contradictory. Thus, the Father is distinguished from the Son and the Spirit by this contradictory opposition. Likewise, the Son and the Spirit are distinguished from one another by their own

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proper modes of subsistence. For to originate through generation and to originate not through generation but through procession are modes of subsistence mutually opposed in contradiction. Gregory the Theologian affirms this about the Spirit: "Proceeding from the Father, but not in the manner of the Son; for it is not through generation, but through procession." This distinction of contradiction, therefore, is entirely consonant both with truth itself and with the consensus of all theologians. It is certainly suitable for distinguishing all the divine persons. The distinction introduced by Thomas as the sole appropriate one—namely, the distinction of relation—indeed separates the Father from those who proceed from Him, namely, the Son and the Spirit. However, it does not in any way distinguish the other persons from one another. For neither of them is the principle of the other. Furthermore, such a distinction is not known to have been applied by any theologian but is entirely contrary to their teaching. Damascene states: "The Father alone is the cause." Likewise, Gregory of Nyssa says: "And again, we understand another distinction of that which is from the cause." Here he refers to a distinction other than that which exists between the cause and what is from the cause. Finally, the illustrious Dionysius declares it wholly impious to say or think anything beyond what the sacred Scriptures, divinely delivered to us, proclaim.

14. If originating from the principle pertains differently to the Son and the Spirit (for the former originates through generation, and the latter through procession), this difference, according to the Fathers, entails a numerical distinction. Thus, there are certainly two who originate from the principle, namely the Son and the Spirit. In precisely the same manner, if the principle of divinity does not pertain equally to the Father and the Son (for the Father is both begetter and emanator, while the Son is only an emanator), there will necessarily be two principles of divinity. Since difference is the cause

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of number—that is, duality—this conclusion aligns with the judgment of the theologians.

15. If it is more exalted for God to be the cause of divinity than to be the cause of created things, how is it that the Holy Spirit, who according to the Latins does not partake of what is more exalted in the Father and the Son, is not thereby inferior in dignity and divinity? If being the cause of divinity is a communicable reality, why does the Spirit not partake in this role? But if it is entirely incommunicable, as it is a property of the Father—just like being without a principle—the Son could in no way partake in it either, despite the Latins ardently maintaining otherwise.

16. We, in denying that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, in no way make Him less in dignity than God the Father. For we assert that being the cause of divinity is not a communicable reality, just as the Father's property of being without a principle or His very paternity is incommunicable. The Latins, however, believing that this causality is communicable but denying it to the Spirit, are compelled by necessity to render Him inferior in divinity and dignity to the Father and the Son. For this reason, and for others, they are frequently driven into blasphemies against the Holy Spirit.

17. If the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, He does so either insofar as they are distinct or insofar as they are united. If He proceeds insofar as they are distinct, then, since they are distinct in hypostases and are two, the Holy Spirit proceeds from two hypostases and, consequently, from two principles, as must necessarily follow. If, however, He proceeds insofar as they are united, then He no longer proceeds from them as distinct. Thus, He does not proceed from the hypostases of the Father and the Son—neither from the hypostasis of the Father nor from the hypostasis of the Son. Gregory of Nyssa, in one place, affirms the former to be true and the latter to be false, saying explicitly: "The Spirit proceeds from the paternal

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hypostasis.” Furthermore, what does it mean to say that the Spirit proceeds insofar as the Father and the Son are united? Perhaps they will claim it refers to the nature or to a spirative power. But if He proceeds from the nature, then He proceeds from Himself, since the nature is common to all three persons. If, however, He proceeds from a spirative power, the Spirit Himself would also need to possess this power. For, as Dionysius and Basil, those eminent theologians, affirm: “What is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Spirit.” Yet the Latins provide a peculiar and even ridiculous response: they claim that the Spirit would indeed possess such a power if it were not impossible for Him to emit Himself. This is no different than someone, upon realizing that their argument implies a man is a stone, refusing to correct the reasoning and instead asserting that a man would indeed have been a stone if it were not impossible for a rational animal to be inanimate and immobile.

18. Whatever pertains to God must properly, uniquely, solely, always, and entirely pertain to Him. The natural and shared attributes belong equally to all three persons, while hypostatic and personal properties belong uniquely to each individual person. Nothing in God is accidental, adventitious, or subsequently acquired; everything that pertains to Him is proper and singular. Thus, when God is described as good, wise, God, king, creator, invisible, immortal, and eternal, these attributes are singularly and properly ascribed to Him as they relate to creation. As the Apostle says: “To the King of ages, immortal, invisible, the only wise God” (1 Tim. 1:17); and again, “Who alone has immortality and dwells in unapproachable light” (1 Tim. 6:16). Similarly, whatever is said of any one of the three persons is said singularly and properly in relation to the others. Hence, the Father is called Father uniquely and solely; the Son is called Son uniquely and solely; and the Spirit is likewise called the Holy Spirit uniquely and solely. In the same way, the Father is

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uniquely and solely unoriginated, or without principle, while the other persons are solely and uniquely from the principle. Since there are only two categories—principle and that which is from the principle—if the Father alone has the role of principle, then the other persons must solely and uniquely be from the principle. Note that the term "solely" is always used in relation to an attribute: the Father is solely Father and not also Son; the Son is solely Son and not also Father; and the Holy Spirit is solely Spirit and not Father or Son. Similarly, the Father is solely without principle, not being caused or from a principle, and thus He is also solely the cause. The other persons, by contrast, are solely from the principle without being a principle themselves. If either the Son or the Spirit were also a principle, the exclusivity of the Father as the sole principle would be eliminated, violating what has already been necessarily demonstrated. For opposition, as even the Latins concede, is the basis of distinction, and two opposites cannot coexist in one and the same divine person. One of them would then not properly exist, and consequently, it would not exist at all. This is consistent with the statements of the saints, such as Damascene, who writes: "The Father alone is the cause"; and Theodore the Studite, who declares: "The sole begetter of the only-begotten Son is the Father alone; the sole light of the sole light is the splendor; and the Holy Spirit, the sole Spirit of the sole God, is the Lord of Lords, the one who truly exists." Thus, the Son cannot have the role of cause, as He must solely be from the cause, just as the Spirit is solely the Spirit of the sole God the Father.

19. Let us ask the Latins: If you claim that the Son possesses whatever belongs to the Father, why do you not also make the Father the Son? They respond that such a claim would contradict the Son's identity, as the distinction between the persons is based on opposition, not confusion, to avoid conflating them. If, then, the divine persons are distinguished by opposition, as you believe, most

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wise ones, and if opposites cannot coexist in the same subject, it follows that being the cause and being from the cause cannot both apply to the same person. These are opposites; thus, the Son cannot simultaneously be from the cause and also the cause, just as the Son cannot simultaneously be the Father. What response can be given to this? They might claim that the Father would also be the Son if there were someone who could refer to Him as Son. What an absurdity! Here we encounter the same sophistry once again. Such reasoning is akin to asserting that every human being is begotten and then claiming that Adam, too, would have been begotten if only he had had a father.

20. The Latins assert that when speaking of the divine persons, there is no difference in Scripture between the prepositions *per* (through) and *ex* (from). Consequently, where it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, they substitute from the Son. But we ask them to clearly demonstrate whether they have ever found in Scripture any instance where the Holy Spirit is said to proceed through the Father. For if the expressions are equivalent and interchangeable, this should also have been said, just as it is commonly expressed concerning creation: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God" (2 Cor. 1:1), or again, "Paul, an apostle not of men, nor through man, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father" (Gal. 1:1), or elsewhere, "I have gotten a man through God" (Gen. 4:1, LXX), and yet again, "Is it not through God that their interpretation comes?" (Gen. 40:8). In summary, if everything said about the divine Spirit equally refers to both the Father and the Son, then we would need to attribute all things equally to both and profess the procession equally from both. However, if certain things are attributed specifically to the Father, others specifically to the Son, and some equally to both, the Latins must take care not to confuse and mix these distinctions indiscriminately. For

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instance, it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, supplies gifts to creation through the Son, abides in the Son, and rests in the Son. However, it is never said that the Spirit proceeds through the Father, is supplied through the Father, abides in the Father, or rests in the Father. Rather, it is said that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. Therefore, let what has been handed down be faithfully expressed, and what is omitted in tradition remain omitted. The idea that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son should be dismissed as a foreign and unsubstantiated concept.

21. When I consider the language that the saints consistently use regarding the Holy Spirit, it seems to me that the supporters of the Latin position fail even to grasp the logical structure of the discourse, let alone the divine dogmas or the intent of the Fathers, who, aided by the Spirit, investigated matters pertaining to the Spirit. What, indeed, can they say when the holy doctors distinguish the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son through differing conjunctions? For instance, one says: "The Spirit also derives His existence from the God of all, but presents Himself to humanity through the Son." Another states: "He proceeds from the Father and abides in the Son." Yet another asserts: "He depends on the Son, with whom He is comprehended without distance by the mind, but His existence is suspended from the Father as the principle, from whom He also proceeds." Another declares: "He proceeds indeed from God the Father, but is not alien to the Son in terms of substance." Would the Latins still dare to assert that there is one single procession of the Spirit from both? What, then, would be the purpose of this distinction in speech, whereby different aspects are attributed to the Father and the Son? For who among the faithful has ever said that created things were made by God the Father and then adorned by the Son, when both equally, as one God and Creator, granted existence and embellishment to all things? Would it not be absurd to separate

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such expressions if the terms were equivalent? It would be as ridiculous as someone saying, "The heavens were established by God the Father, but compacted by the Son." Indeed, anyone who uses such a divided formulation inevitably separates one from the other, just as someone saying, "Paul was from Tarsus, but Peter was from Palestine," does not ascribe both qualities to either individual. Similarly, when one says that the incarnation occurred by the will of the Father, through the operation of the Son, and with the cooperation of the Spirit, each is attributed a unique role, and the others are excluded from it. It is therefore clear, even from such divided formulations, that it does not belong to the Father to be the one through whom the Spirit is supplied, nor to the Son to be the one from whom the Spirit proceeds.

22. When God spoke in the divine Scripture, knowing in advance the wickedness of humankind, He preemptively restrained any potential weeds of false teaching that might be sown by the enemy. He left no word incomplete; if a phrase seemed insufficient, He completed it elsewhere, or if it might give rise to error, He corrected it in another place, so that the saying of the wise would be fulfilled: "All things are right to the wise and those who find knowledge are straightforward." First, the phrase "The Father is greater than I" was uttered, which was necessary for those who would attempt to diminish the Son's paternal dignity. Yet, this was balanced elsewhere when Jesus said, "I and the Father are one," and again, "I am in the Father, and the Father is in me"; and the Apostle also states, "He did not consider equality with God something to be grasped." Furthermore, the passage from Proverbs, "The Lord created me," which was used by Wisdom, is clarified in the subsequent verses, for it is said, "Before the mountains, I was brought forth," referring to the creation and birth of the Son according to the flesh, and also the eternal generation. Similarly, when in the Gospels Jesus calls His

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Father the "only true God" (for He says, "That they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent"), to avoid the perception that He was excluding Himself from true deity, John, the same one who wrote these words, says in his epistle, "This is the true God and eternal life." Likewise, the Spirit is said to belong to the Father in terms of natural relation and the gift given to us (for He says, "It is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you"), but to prevent anyone from thinking that the Spirit is alien to the Son, or that He is not also given by the Son, the Spirit is also called the Spirit of the Son. The Apostle states, "God has sent the Spirit of His Son into your hearts." Now, if the phrase "proceeds from the Father" had meant that the Spirit also proceeded from the Son, surely the Scripture would have corrected this elsewhere, as the one who cares for the salvation of humanity would have made this known, either through Himself or through His disciples. Since nothing is said, it is clear that He did not mention it because the situation is not as such. Therefore, John of Damascus says, "We call the Spirit the Spirit of the Son, but we do not say that He proceeds from the Son." And the divine Apostle says, "Even if an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel other than what we have preached to you, let him be anathema."

23. The name of the Father, when applied to God, encompasses all His properties; for it includes the concept of being unbegotten, as Basil the Great rightly explains, since the one who is properly Father and alone is not begotten by another. In relation to the Spirit, the Father is called the originator, according to the Scripture that says, "From the Father comes the light." If, therefore, the Son does not share in the name of the Father, neither will He share in the spirative property with the Father, lest the Son appear to be both a father and a son, as we humans are accustomed to think. Thus, the Spirit is considered as the Son's nephew.

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24. The Latins assert that the Father and the Son are one cause of the Holy Spirit. Let us then ask them: Just as the Father alone is the single cause of the Holy Spirit, are the Father and the Son one cause, or is it otherwise? If they say yes, then, since the Father alone is the one person, it would follow that both the Father and the Son are one person, thus leading to a Sabellian contraction. But if they state it differently, claiming the Father alone as the single cause in one sense and the Father and Son together in another, they must beware that they are, perhaps unwittingly, asserting two causes and two principles.

25. The Latins assert a general principle of distinction, applying it to all things that can be distinguished, claiming that they can be separated either according to matter or according to one of the oppositions. Indeed, although such a doctrine might be confirmed in created things, whether it must be transferred to divine matters is questionable, as divine realities do not fall under the same reasoning as created ones. Let us, however, set aside this issue for the moment and demonstrate, based on the purpose at hand, that this doctrine is neither necessary nor completely true even in relation to things that pertain to us and of which we have some knowledge—namely, created things. This is not only because the Latins present as universal something that is not universal, but also because, in cases where material or oppositional distinction is considered, neither the matter nor the opposition themselves cause the distinction. Rather, it is the things already distinguished that follow as connected elements, which indicates that things are distinguished in this way without the distinction itself being the cause.

Here is how the matter stands. Matter by itself is indivisible; for just as it exists without quality, it also exists without quantity. What lacks quantity is indivisible, and what cannot be divided cannot be distinguished. But what, by its own nature, neither divides nor distinguishes itself—how could it provide the cause for distinction?

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Furthermore, if a body is composed of matter, and according to the same matter, it is divided into certain quantities, then each part is taken and placed separately to show that it is this substance, not some other. This is called a material distinction. However, this does not make matter the cause of the distinction, since it is undifferentiated by itself. Instead, material division arises, through which quantity is added to what is distinct. Similarly, form is not the cause of the operation in bodies, for it lacks operation by its own nature, but it works in conjunction with matter. Nor is it true that a property that pertains to a composite because of the elements that constitute it is directly attributable to those elements. Therefore, form is not the principle of operation, even though the operation of bodies corresponds to the form, and neither is matter the cause of distinction, even though in composites, distinction is based on matter. We should not attribute the cause of distinction to matter, but we can rightly ascribe the cause to material division in things that consist of matter.

Additionally, in things that lack matter, it should be determined whether opposition is necessary for distinction. Things in the same kind are said to be divided by opposition when they are greatly different or when they are separated by substantial differences. For example, in color, white and black are very distant and are even called opposites; in animals, the rational and non-rational are separated—humans and horses, for instance. Therefore, the question is whether those things are distinguished from one another where there is opposition or contrariety, or whether even those things placed in the middle between them are also divided. Certainly, they are distinguished as well, for all things depend on their common kind, and they are distinguished according to their specific distinguishing factors, even if they are not vastly different from each other, or even if they share contrary qualities. What, indeed, is the opposition

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between dark and red in color? What between a horse and an ox in animals? Since they are divided from the same genus, they are distinguished from the common genus, and as they are opposed to each other, they are also mutually distinguished by their respective qualities, though these distinctions are not easily specified. Therefore, opposition should not be taken as the cause of distinction, for in many cases, it does not even have a place. Rather, it is division itself that precedes and causes distinction, as it divides everything from the same genus by its specific qualities.

Indeed, the same principle of distinction applies to individuals. For what else can distinguish them if not matter? What if no opposition can be found in them? Will they not still be distinguished from one another? Certainly, many such monstrosities have been produced by Latin reasoning. However, even here, division brings about distinction by separating each thing according to its own qualities. It is not surprising that we may not easily identify the specific qualities that distinguish different species, but it is acknowledged that more than one thing can be divided from the same source. This could not happen unless they were distinguished both from each other and from their source. Therefore, the primary and most essential cause of distinction is division, not matter or opposition, as these are neither universally nor inherently apt for distinguishing. In fact, the very name of division, being related to distinction, clearly shows that division is the cause of distinction.

Moreover, the Latins claim that the opposition which they call "relative" is most suitable for distinguishing things. However, this is clearly baseless and does not even require demonstration. For, in the first place, such opposition is posterior in origin to nature itself. A person is first a man, and later a father; similarly, quantity is first possessed, and then a double amount is considered. Furthermore, relative terms involve a mutual implication; this is more about

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connection than distinction. Additionally, both terms can, in the same or different ways, converge, which is far from what constitutes a distinction. Thus, the commonly used Latin reasoning for distinguishing things based on matter or opposition is futile and reckless.

Let us now apply our doctrine to divine matters, where it fits better than the view supported by the Latins. The division in the divine persons closely resembles progression from the same source: division is itself a form of progression. Just as things divided from the same source, although they have not yet reached opposite positions, fall into categories that separate them from each other and from their source (for they could not be divided otherwise), so too in the divine persons, the Son and the Spirit are distinguished by the fact that they proceed from the same Father in different ways. In this way, they are distinct both from the Father and from each other: from the Father, because they proceed from Him (everything that proceeds from something is, by nature, distinct from that from which it proceeds); and from each other, because they proceed in different manners, though this is completely unknown and ineffable to us. Therefore, opposition is not needed to distinguish the Son and the Spirit, as Thomas assumes. Even in created things, opposition is unnecessary. It suffices that the two are distinguished by their differing modes of progression. This is consistent with both the divine realities themselves and the teachings of the saints, as they have fully handed down this distinction. As Damascene the theologian writes in the eighth chapter of his *Theological Exposition*: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, not by generation, but by procession; a different mode of existence, incomprehensible and unknown, just like the generation of the Son." Gregory the Theologian likewise says, "The properties of the Father are that He is understood and said to be

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without origin and the origin; of the Son, that He is begotten; of the Spirit, that He proceeds."

26. As no divine persons are supplied by the Father in their existence, since they all have their origin and perfection from Him, neither does one supply the production of the other. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is not a partner or associate with the Father in generating the Son, nor is the Son a partner with the Father in sending the Spirit. The action of generating and sending is perfect and singular, emanating solely from the Father to produce one.

27. Just as that which operates definitively also manifests its action definitively, so too does a defined action refer back to a defined agent. Thus, if generating and sending are the defined actions of one Father, sending, but not generating, is the defined action of the joint operation of the Father and the Son, according to the Latin view. However, generating is equally the defined action of the Son, just as proceeding is the defined action of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, there would be four distinct agents in the divine persons, each acting definitively: one Father, one producer distinct from the other, one Son, and one Holy Spirit. But four distinct agents producing four distinct actions cannot possibly result in the unity of the Trinity. The Latins, therefore, fail in their claim of faith in the Trinity, as they have mutilated it according to their own opinions.

28. The principle of the divine nature, according to the Latins, is either the hypostases of the Father and the Son, or their nature or some action. If it is the hypostases, how can there not be two principles (for there are two hypostases)? In the same way that if there are two hypostases, they bring about two effects. But if it is their nature, then it must be fully adequate, as nothing more can be added. For the Spirit is not a principle. If, then, something belongs to the nature of the Father and the Son, that would be the principle of the deity; and conversely, if something is the principle of the deity, it

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must be the nature of the Father and the Son. Therefore, the Holy Spirit will be as alien to the nature of the Father and the Son as He is to the principle. And do the Latins still accuse the Macedonians? If, finally, it is some action, we must determine whether it is one action or two. If two, then there must again be two principles; if one, we must also ask whether it is personal or natural. If it is natural, the Spirit will be alien to any natural action and thus to the nature. If, however, it is personal, it will be specifically referred to one person. For it is absolutely necessary that a single personal action, if directed towards one effect, emanates from one person alone. Therefore, it is in vain that the Latins attribute a single spirative action and property to both the Father and the Son.

29. A single, simple action, which tends towards one effect, refers to a single agent. Let the agent be A, and the action it carries out directed towards C. There is a single, simple action between them, namely AC. I claim that the agent A is singular in number. It cannot be the case that there are two agents, AB. This B will either be part of A or placed separately. If it is part of A, it will not be something other than A, but one with it, and thus the entire system will be singular. If B is placed separately, imagine it first below. The action flowing from A to C will either be even and continuous or uneven. If it is even and continuous, since it is singular in number, it is clear that B, placed in the middle, will bring no help to the action, but will either do nothing or at least not act on C in the same way as A. However, if the action is uneven, it is evident that the action will gain strength, just as a river grows stronger when a stream flows into it. This is not the property of a singular, continuous action, for there is an interruption between the action and the addition of B's contribution, thus two actions are formed, not one. The same will happen if B is placed above A. In this case, it becomes even more evident that there are two actions: one from A to C and another from B to the same C. Therefore, it is

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impossible for a single action to refer to two agents, just as it is impossible for a single line to have two endpoints on either side. Thus, a singular action refers to a singular agent. Now, let us assume that the agent A is both the Father and the producer, and that C is the subsistence of the Holy Spirit, while the spirative action is placed between them, a single, simple, eternal action. Then let B be the Son. It is evident, therefore, that the single personal action by which the Spirit is sent refers to the Father, but not to the Son. This is what Aristotle clearly states in the fifth book of *Natural Inquiry*, saying: "A single action is that of one agent." And in the ninth book of the same work, he adds: "Where there is one motion, there is also one mover; if one thing moves another, the motion is not continuous."

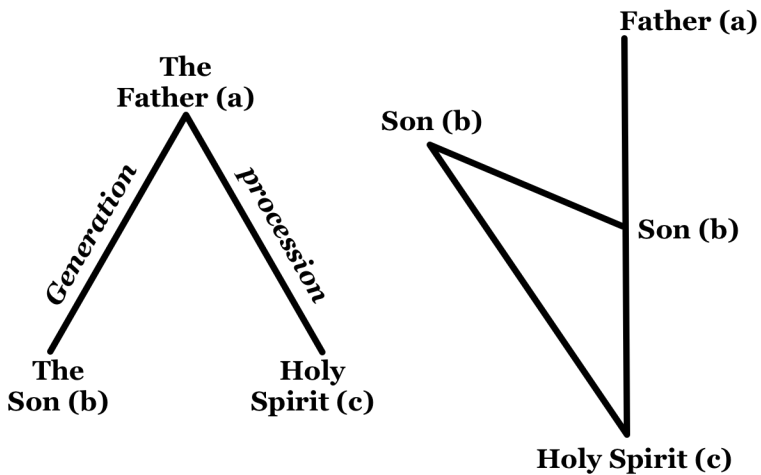
30. It is fitting that the Father is the common source of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as Gregory the Theologian teaches. However, if the Son is indeed immediately from the Father, without any other cause, and the Spirit is not immediate but has the Son as its cause, then it is no longer common for them both to be from the Father, as they are not equally participants in this origin. Therefore, either the Theologian must be lying, or if the other view is to be said, then the Latins are completely mistaken when they attribute the cause of the Spirit to the Son.

31. The theologians assert that the mode of existence and property of the Holy Spirit is not simply to proceed but to proceed from the Father. But if this is the mode of existence and property, then what is said about proceeding from the Son either does not align or adds something to the existence, thus making the property double. Since what is proper must return to that from which it is proper, it cannot overflow or lack, making it double. Therefore, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

32. When we say that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are the one principle of created things, it is understood that we are

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speaking in comparison to the divine nature, for that is one, while these are many and diverse. In the same way, when we say that there is one principle of the deity, it is clear that we speak of it with respect to one person in relation to the others. And just as no created thing is taken to one principle because of its creation, so neither should any of the two persons be assumed to one principle by reason of the deity. For it is better for one to be the principle of many than for many to be the principle of one. Therefore, the Father alone is the unique principle of the Son and the Spirit, just as the Trinity alone is the unique principle of all created things. This is explicitly stated by the blessed Dionysius: "The Father is the only superessential fountain of the deity."



33. When different actions originate from the same agent at the same time, they clearly produce distinct effects. Suppose the agent is A, and its actions are sent at the same time, one to B and the other to C. I assert that C is distinct from B. For if they were the same, they would align precisely with each other, and the action directed to them would be the same. Therefore, they must be distinct. Let us imagine that A is the Father, who acts eternally and naturally; B is the Son,

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and C is the Holy Spirit. The actions between them are distinct: the action directed toward B is the generation of the Son, while the action directed toward C is the procession of the Holy Spirit. It is evident that the Holy Spirit is distinct from the Son, because the actions directed toward each are different. Hence, no further distinction is necessary between the Son and the Holy Spirit, as the distinct actions and processions themselves are enough to distinguish them.

34. Those who agree with the Latins ask us whether the Father emits the Holy Spirit with His virtue and wisdom or without them, assuming that if we deny one, we would affirm the other. For if the Son is the wisdom and virtue of the Father, the Father certainly emits the Holy Spirit with the Son, and not alone. We also agree that the Father emits the Holy Spirit with the Son, with the Word, wisdom, and virtue, as the holy Fathers say, for the Holy Spirit proceeds with the Word, accompanying and revealing it, so that neither the Word is without the Spirit, nor does the Spirit proceed without the Word. However, this does not mean that the Son is the cause of the Spirit's existence, just as the Spirit is not the cause of the Son. What proceeds from the Father and the Son in the same manner cannot be the cause of each other. Therefore, it is not necessary for the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Son as He proceeds from the Father; if this were the case, there would be no difference between the Spirit and created things, which were also made by the Word of God, His wisdom, and His virtue. Indeed, "all things were made by Him, and without Him nothing was made that has been made." Hence, what is not made does not need to be said to exist through Him. Furthermore, the Son is not as much the wisdom and virtue of the Father as He is the Son and the Word. The Son is the Word of the Father, but the Father is neither the Son nor the Word (since the Son is referred to the Father, and the Word is referred to the speaker).

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Wisdom and virtue of the Father, however, are as the Father Himself is wisdom and virtue, not merely wise and powerful. Wisdom is of wisdom, and virtue is of virtue, as God is of God and light is of light. The Father is called wisdom and virtue because all wisdom and virtue are in Him, just as in the image and exemplar. However, the Holy Spirit is no less wisdom and virtue, as no expert in Scripture would deny. These names are essential and common to the divine persons, as St. Augustine testifies in his work on the Trinity. Therefore, since the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father as wisdom and virtue proceed from wisdom and virtue, it is unnecessary and vain to ask whether the Father emits the Holy Spirit with His wisdom and virtue, unless someone wishes to convert this into a creaturely concept, as Scripture says, "The Lord established the earth in wisdom, and He prepared the heavens by understanding." Moreover, the Father does not need the aid of wisdom or virtue to bring about the procession of the Spirit, just as He does not need the aid of the Son's generation or any of the divine powers. This is proper to created things, as the theologians say. Therefore, both the Son and the Holy Spirit proceed equally and immediately from the essence of the Father, the Son with the Spirit, yet neither from the other nor in any way dependent upon each other.

35. If something is said singularly of the many in the divine persons, it is either the essence entirely or something essential. For just as there is one thing by which each person is distinguished from the others, there is also one thing by which the three are united. This thing, in fact, is the essence, or something of it, such as one will, one virtue, or one action. We say that the Son is God from God, and both are one God; light from light, and both are one light; wisdom from wisdom, and both are one wisdom; virtue from virtue, and both are one virtue. Therefore, the divine persons can only exist insofar as something singular exists within them, which is essential. If, then, the act of emitting is one in both the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit

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must also partake in this, as something essential, and He too would emit another person. But if He lacks this essential reality, there is no doubt that He would also lack the essence itself. The Latins must choose one of these two options; however, if they reject both, they must abandon their prior position, from which these conclusions necessarily follow.

36. If, according to the Latins, the Son and the Spirit proceed from the essence of the Father, but only the Spirit proceeds from the essence of the Father and the Son, the essence of the Father does not produce the same as the essence of the Father and the Son. What does not produce the same is, in fact, not the same. Therefore, the essence of the Father is not the same as the essence of the Father and the Son; and consequently, the essence of the Spirit must also be different. There would then be multiple essences within the divine Trinity, which is impious and absurd.

37. If the Father is the principle of both the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the Son is the principle only of the Holy Spirit, then these principles are not the same. Thus, the principle in the divine Trinity is not one but two, and the Latins' attempt to avoid a duality of principles is in vain.

38. The term "Son" signifies two things: his relation to the Father, inasmuch as he receives his being from Him, and the fact that he shares the same substance with the Father; for every son is consubstantial with his father. This is also indicated by the term "generation," by which both the cause of his being and consubstantiality are most clearly expressed. It is not the same for the Holy Spirit, nor is it for the term "procession." However, whenever we hear of the Spirit of the Father, we understand it as a certain gift of the Father that is given to us, sanctifies us, and operates within us. As the Lord says: "The Spirit of your Father, who speaks in you." Similarly, the Spirit of the Son is also said to be the same, for it is a

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common gift of both. As the blessed Augustine says, whenever we hear of the Spirit proceeding from the Father, we take it to mean both the cause of his being and his hypostasis, but not his consubstantiality, which neither the Spirit nor the procession can indicate. Therefore, when theologians wish to indicate simply the cause of being, they say "the Spirit who proceeds from the Father," teaching us this from the Lord, without mutilating or truncating the expression or leaving out the principle. But when they want to indicate consubstantiality at the same time, they add "through the Son," saying "Who proceeds from the Father through the Son," as if they were saying: "Not without the Son, nor from a different nature, but with generation, the procession is also understood." Hence, the divine Maximus says: "He who proceeds ineffably through the Son," and he certainly would not have added "generated" unless he wanted us to understand this. Moreover, the same theologian confirms this in a letter to Marinus, the presbyter of Cyprus, stating that the Romans of his time "do not recognize the cause of the Spirit as the Son, but rather show that He proceeds through the Son, and thus demonstrate the knowledge of the substance without any differentiation." The more recent and ridiculous theology of the Latins, however, interpreting the phrase "through the Son" as meaning a nearer principle, establishes the Father as a more remote principle, and not a principle proximate to the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the words of the venerable Gregory of Nyssa, who says, "Through the Son, the interposition is preserved and the Spirit is not excluded from the natural relation He has to the Father," are ignored. This theology introduces gradations and disparities into the Holy Trinity, placing the Father as the highest and first principle, the Son as inferior and a second principle, acting as a kind of intermediary between the Father and the Spirit, and finally, the Holy Spirit as the lowest and distant from the principle, thus

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leading into the abyss of tritheism, circumscribing the divine persons and making the Spirit almost like a grandchild.

39. I came across a certain Latin scholar writing on behalf of the Latins, who asserts that it is wrong to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son (for this would make two, distinct principles, one nearer and the other more remote). Instead, he claims that the Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son, as it is indeed added in the Symbol, so that the Father and the Son together are understood as one principle of the Holy Spirit. But if this is the case, as he says, the first part of his statement aligns with what our scholars teach. No longer should the expression "through the Son" be understood as implying a proximate principle, nor should the phrase "through the Son" be misused, as some who have separated from the Son have foolishly done. If this is the case, and if the distinct persons of the Holy Spirit proceed from each, one having it from itself, and the other from the other, then two principles will indeed exist. After they have lost this connection, they will not avoid two principles; indeed, they will demonstrate their doctrine to be inconsistent and contradictory, undermining itself.

40. One of those who had abandoned our faith and become a defender of the Latins asked me whether everything that naturally proceeds from someone through something does not have, as its principle, the thing through which it proceeds. In response, I asked him whether everything that naturally proceeds from someone through something does not have two principles for its existence: one from which it proceeds, and the other through which it proceeds. For instance, as the Apostle says, a man born of a man through a woman has two principles: namely, his father and mother. Likewise, Jacob, who was begotten from Abraham through Isaac, has two principles, one more remote, his grandfather, and one closer, his father. Therefore, if they wish to base their theology on examples taken from

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what happens among us, let them also acknowledge two causes and two principles, and not deny the necessary conclusions that follow from their reasoning.

41. "But," he said, "if creation received its existence from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, how does it not have three principles but rather one principle and one creator?" To this, I replied: "Creation, most noble one, is not attributed to the essence of the Father and the Son, nor to their hypostases, but to their shared will and power, which is one and the same in all three. As a result, creation has one God as its principle and one creator. But the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the hypostasis of the Father; therefore, if He also proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son, as you claim, then having two hypostases as causes, He would necessarily have two causes and two principles, unless we are to lose our reason. Therefore, do not employ incongruous examples again; for creation is from God not by essence but by activity."

42. "If the Son is posited as the proximate principle of the Holy Spirit and the Father as the non-proximate principle, since these are opposites and opposites cannot coexist simultaneously, then the Father and the Son cannot be one principle, as they would be opposite principles. Consequently, there would be two principles. How, then, will these unfortunate proponents avoid the idea of two principles, which press upon them from every side?"

43. While the Latins assert that the Father and the Son are principles of the Holy Spirit, designating the first, second, and third principles in a certain necessary natural order, they very clearly separate the Holy Spirit from the Father by a certain interval, introducing gradations and disparities into the Holy Trinity, claiming that the Father is greater than the Son and the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit. But let them learn from the Fifth General Synod, where these are condemned as the views of Origen. Indeed, the Emperor

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Justinian of blessed memory, in his speech against him, calls these blasphemies. He said, "The Father is greater than the Son, and the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit." This is rightly condemned, for as Gregory the Theologian says: "We believe in one God, because there is one divine essence, and all things which proceed from Him are referred to the one." Thus, if those who refer all things which proceed from Him to one God, believe in one God, then those who refer one thing to two cannot possibly believe in one God, but in many gods. What, then, are they saying against the Gentiles?

44. If the Holy Spirit proceeds closely from the Son, and not closely from the Father, as the Latins assert, it is clear that He proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son, but not from the hypostasis of the Father. For how could this happen if He does not have His existence proximate to the Father? It is not correct to say that Jacob, who was not directly born of Abraham, proceeds from the hypostasis of Abraham, unless one wishes to say from his nature, since we are all considered to be from Adam's nature, but not from his hypostasis. Yet the holy doctors plainly teach the opposite about the Holy Spirit, declaring that He proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father, as divine Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor, and all others, affirm. No one says that He proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son. Therefore, the Latins err in claiming that the hypostasis of the Son is the nearest cause of the Holy Spirit.

45. Whenever the Latins say that the Father is not the nearest principle of the Holy Spirit, let us ask them whether they mean that the Son is the principle of the Spirit, and if so, do they also mean that the Son contributes something to the Spirit's being? If they say the Son is the principle, it is clear that the Son is not properly the principle of the Spirit, for He is not the proximate principle. From this, it follows that the Father and the Son are proper principles, as proximate, but the Spirit is not properly so, since He is not proximate.

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This theology, or rather this theomachy, we have not heard until now, but we do hear the claim that just as the Son proceeds from the Father, so too the Spirit proceeds from the Father. They make it an absurdity when they try to deny the Spirit's proceeding from the Father alone, while affirming it from the Son. If they claim that the Father contributes anything to the Spirit's being, how can one refrain from declaring this doctrine full of absurdities? For it leads to the conclusion that there are two principles, as the hypostases are two, and the essence of the Spirit is divided, with part from the Father and part from the Son, thus composing the Spirit from both, having existence from both, and bringing about monstrous consequences.

46. Furthermore, the Latins, pressed by these arguments, again resort to the issue of creation, attempting to show themselves clearly as pneumatomachians, by manifestly considering the Holy Spirit as a created thing. They argue that even the creation of all things from the Father through the Son has the principle of being, yet it is still considered to have one principle and one creator, not two or three causes, nor one properly and the other not, nor do they suggest that one contributes to the other's existence. If they say this, they must either plainly confess that they consider the Holy Spirit a creature, or else admit that outside of their nature and hypostases, two persons can, by one action and one reason, achieve whatever they wish. But if each person naturally produces one person through one single action from its own hypostasis, it cannot be done unless part of the existence is contributed, so that there are two principles, two actions, and a composite effect. Thus, how they can attribute to one personal action the operations of two persons, while asserting that there is one principle, is truly perplexing.

47. The human mind itself, I say, produces reason from itself and sends forth spirit as the messenger of its movements and thoughts, to animate and move the body, and to manifest and express

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reason. Thus, both the reason and spirit are produced simultaneously by the mind, the one announcing externally the thoughts of the generator, the other animating and moving the body according to the will of the speaker. However, no sane person would say that the spirit proceeds from reason, for the spirit is the companion of the word for its manifestation, and in turn, the word is manifested by the spirit. In the same way, the eternal Word is produced with the Spirit by the first mind, namely the Father, but it is not the cause for the Spirit's being. This is similar to how we are taught by the divine Maximus, who adapts a marvelous example to the divine model. Just as the word in us is the messenger and interpreter of the movements of the mind, so the divine Word is the angel of the great counsel of the Father; and just as the spirit in us is the principle of life and movement of the body, so the divine Spirit is the principle by which creation lives, moves, is preserved, and sanctifies. Therefore, the divine man says in the third chapter of the third century of the Centuries of the Gnostics: "The Word neither was, nor is, nor will be prior to the Word; but the Word is, not independent of the mind or life, but one that is endowed with mind and life, as it has the Father, who possesses essential life, coexisting with Him, and the Holy Spirit." Notice how the mind is named as God and the Father, the Word as the Son, and life as the Holy Spirit, coexisting with the Son, but not originating from the same existence. This is what another theologian says: "He proceeds from the Father and remains in the Son."

48. Now, if the processions of the divine persons differ according to the principle of remoteness and proximity, let the Latins be pressed on the point that the Son is from the Father alone, and the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son. If this is said to be a procession, as they claim, then the procession must be the same as generation, and generation must in turn be the same as procession. Therefore, in the Trinity, there would be two sons: one begotten from

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the Father alone, and the other from the Father through the Son, with one being proximate to the Father and the other proximate to the Son, but remote from the Father, as a grandson. But such reasoning, or rather delirium, about God has never been heard until now.

49. Either the principle of the Son and the Holy Spirit is the same, or it is different. If it is the same, since the Father alone is the principle of the Son, certainly the Father alone will also be the principle of the Spirit. But if they are different, how can there not be two principles?

50. The hypostasis of the Father is the principle of the Holy Spirit; there is also another hypostasis, namely the Son, according to the Latins, who claims to be the principle of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, according to their doctrine, the Father and the Son are two principles of the Spirit. Thus, they assert that there are two principles of the Spirit.

51. The Father and the Son are one principle of the Holy Spirit in such a way that either one alone is the principle, or neither. If both are one principle as one person, then they are certainly one principle, as they are one person, and thus Sabellianism is revived. But if, on the other hand, both are one principle, yet each individually also can be considered a principle, how can there not be two principles? Indeed, if there is a difference, it is certain that it introduces a numerical distinction.

52. In the divine persons, either there is one principle, or there is not one. If there is one person as the principle, then we have what is sought, for the Father, without a doubt, will be the sole principle. But if there is not one, then there will certainly be two principles, as there are two things that arise from the principle. This is absurd, and the thing itself speaks for itself.

53. If the proximate cause is greater and closer than the mediated cause, why is it that when it is so often said that the Spirit

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proceeds from the Father, the words "through the Son" are rarely added? Why is it that the greater and closer cause is omitted, while the lesser and more distant cause is always expressed? And how can there not be two principles when both greater and lesser, closer and more distant, are relevant?

54. The Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit either by reason of nature or by reason of hypostasis. If by reason of nature, since the nature is the same in all three, the cause will be common to all, and thus the Spirit himself will proceed from one or the other. But if the Son is the cause by reason of hypostasis, since the hypostasis of the Son is different from that of the Father, and also from that of the Spirit, then the Son will be the cause, as will the Father, with a distinct principle. Therefore, there will be two hypostases as causes, and thus two principles.

55. The power of producing the Spirit, according to the Latins, is one and the same in the Father and the Son, and it will be essential and natural. However, the Holy Spirit will be excluded from this power, since he does not produce any other person. But, as the theologians teach, things of the same virtue must also be of the same nature. Therefore, things with different essential virtues must necessarily not have the same nature, and thus the Holy Spirit is excluded from the common essence of the Father and the Son, as he is excluded from the common essential power. But we know that the Holy Trinity, being of the same essence, is also of the same virtue, and we proclaim the power of all three persons as one, just as we proclaim one essence. The new pneumatomachians who make many assertions are not valid.

56. According to the theologians, the properties of the Father are that He is unbegotten, that He begets, and that He sends forth. If one of these properties, namely the sending forth, pertains to the Son, which is the Latin view, then the Father will have a greater

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communion with the Son than with the Holy Spirit, and consequently, a greater distinction from the Holy Spirit than from the Son. So, why do the Latins accuse Macedonius of heresy, when they themselves openly become pneumatomachians?

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DIALOGUE OF MARK OF EPHESUS ON THE ADDITION MADE TO THE CREED BY THE LATINS.

Latins: I am amazed that you reproach us for the addition to the Creed, when the Second Ecumenical Council handed down the entire Creed of the First Council to us, unaltered but enriched with additions for the sake of greater clarity. Therefore, the change in the words does no harm, provided that the accurate doctrine is preserved.

Greeks: We admit that this is the case and are not unaware that the symbol of the Second Council, compared to that which the First established, remains unchanged in its wording. However, although it was permissible for those Fathers to alter the Creed, we do not think it should be allowed for you to make such changes.

Latins: Why is this, I ask?

Greeks: First of all, because those were Ecumenical Councils, and for you, it is by no means appropriate, even if you greatly defend the Pope and his primacy. Then, it was certainly allowed at that time, as it had not yet been forbidden; but for you, who have attempted to make an addition, since the matter has already been prohibited,

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nothing at all prevents you from being subject to the anathemas proclaimed by the Fathers.

Latins: When, I beg you, was this prohibited, and for what reason?

Greeks: I will explain everything to you carefully. After the exposition of the faith made by the First Council, many varied expositions of the faith were created by different councils to abolish the consubstantiality, which indeed were declared void. However, the Second Council, which was both Ecumenical and faithfully preserved the teaching of the First, produced a distinct exposition, the one we now use without addition, while you use it with the addition. Nevertheless, neither of these two councils issued any decree forbidding changes to the Creed. Therefore, at the Third Ecumenical Council, a Creed was proclaimed, made by the followers of Nestorius, imbued with heretical depravity, which they did not hesitate to use in some cases when baptizing through Lydia. When the Fathers heard this read and judged it no longer tolerable for anyone to alter the Creed, they immediately issued a decree, forbidding anyone from altering the faith defined by the Fathers or the Creed itself.

For this reason, blessed Cyril, in his letter to John of Antioch, knowing well the decisions he had made (for he presided over that great council), said, "We absolutely do not permit that anyone, neither ourselves nor anyone else, alter a single word or even a single syllable of what is set forth here. We are mindful of the one who said: Do not move the ancient boundary which your fathers have set." For they did not speak on their own, but through the Spirit of God and the Father, who proceeds from Him. Indeed, though proceeding from the Father, the Spirit is not alien to the Son according to the essence. Do you hear? Not only the sentence but even the alteration or transgression of a single word or syllable is forbidden. We, he says, do not permit this, nor does anyone else, by

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the authority of the entire synod. Although they were Ecumenical Councils, they still issued the prohibitive decree and pronounced those horrendous anathemas. If they would not permit it to themselves, will they permit it to you? They proved this in practice. For they did not dare to add the word "Theotokos" (Mother of God), over which the whole dispute had arisen, to the Creed; but as they had said before, so we still say: "Of the Holy Spirit, who is from the Virgin Mary." Let these words of the great Cyril stand as the clearest and most manifest testimony of his teaching on the divine Creed and the procession of the Holy Spirit. For the Creed must remain inviolable both in words and syllables, and the Holy Spirit is declared to proceed from the Father, while the Son is His own, being consubstantial with the Father. Do you see how clearly and explicitly this is presented? He placed both truths beautifully together, as if by prophetic insight, foreseeing that you Italians would violate both. This is how the holy Fathers knew how to foresee and prevent future evils! Embracing these words, all the bishops of the East united in peace. They say that after the letters from Egypt were publicly read and their meaning carefully examined, they found concord in what was sent from there. For they are based on the noble Gospel: Our Lord Jesus Christ is proclaimed as perfect God and perfect man, and the Holy Spirit is not to be understood as existing from the Son or through the Son, but as proceeding from the Father, though consubstantial with the Son. Do you see how they understood the Spirit to be no different from the Son according to essence?

Indeed, when Nestorius, in his own Creed, had said that the Holy Spirit is neither the Son nor derives existence through the Son, the great synod accepted this statement and neither opposed nor criticized it. This led to the conclusion that they confirmed it as their own. For if it had been otherwise, how would they have remained silent? Therefore, I want you to know that the Third Ecumenical

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Council is the first to have issued a prohibitive decree against those who would alter the Creed, and it is the first to have rejected and condemned your doctrine through the words of Nestorius, which he had adopted as his own. Do not seek another synod that would have allowed such an act, for it was once prohibited by the great council, and if any synod later permitted it, it would not have been a true synod but a pseudo-synod. This, then, should remain settled.

Furthermore, after that synod, a fourth council was convened, which, as its decree states, first recited both Creeds and then accepted one. After reading them, it immediately added: "This venerable and salutary symbol of divine grace suffices for the full understanding and confirmation of piety." Therefore, both are one; for the first contains the second, and the Third Council spoke of both as one. But listen to what follows: "For it teaches perfectly about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Do you hear the perfect doctrine it teaches? Nothing regarding the Holy Spirit is lacking or needs addition. But how this Creed should be maintained is clearly stated at the end: "Thus, having set forth and established these things, this holy and universal synod has decreed that no one may offer another faith, that is, to write, compose, teach, or offer another."

"Anyone who dares to write, compose, or offer another faith, whether they be bishops or clerics, the synod has decreed that they are to be alien to the episcopate, and clerics, alien to the clerical office; if they are laypeople, they are to be subjected to anathema." In this context, I believe, to those with sound understanding, that by "faith" they mean the Creed itself. For it does not speak of any general definition, as many definitions were made after this. But this other faith refers not merely to many words but to the addition, subtraction, or alteration of even a single word. For "writing, composing, and offering" clearly refers to the composition of words, which it forbids.

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Latins: No, but the "other faith" refers to that which opposes the original faith, which contains doctrines contrary to the Church. For that faith, which offers clarification and explanation, is certainly not another faith, whether it differs by a single word or many words.

Greeks: I am amazed that you do not examine the words of those who spoke, but instead twist the meaning to suit your own judgment. For to consider that the same thing means both the opposite and the contrary is the act of one who is neither wise nor skilled in adapting the words of nature to the essence of things. Indeed, the word "other" clearly extends further than the word "contrary," and not everything that is "other" is necessarily contrary to something. For example, a man is "other" than a horse in appearance, but in essence, they are not opposed to each other. Thus, they did not understand by "another faith" a completely opposite one, just as no one considers a human being to be an animal. However, they did mean by "another" a change in the words, as I have shown earlier.

Moreover, it is plainly ridiculous that one who has created a heretical and opposing faith, if he is a bishop or a cleric, should only be subject to deposition, while if he is a layperson, he should face the penalty of anathema. For any heretic, whether bishop or layperson, is anathematized without distinction. But even this could not terrify or turn away the heretics, for many still arose even after this. No one dared alter the Creed, except for you alone. Therefore, the prohibition applies to the words, not to the meaning, as you suppose. Hence, your bishops and clerics are no longer bishops or clerics, since they have been deposed by so many synods, and laypeople are subjected to anathema and excommunication. Indeed, the same decrees have been issued by subsequent synods, namely the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, which loudly proclaim: "We keep the laws of the Church; we maintain the decrees of the Fathers; we anathematize those who add or subtract anything from the Church." And again, "If anyone

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attempts to overthrow the tradition of the universal Church, whether written or unwritten, let him be anathema."

Do you not overthrow the written tradition of the Fathers by introducing such novelties? Are you not ashamed, while proclaiming the rest of the Creed as the Fathers established it, to insert a single word into it according to your own judgment? This is certainly the work of heretics—adding or removing words in order to obscure their heresy. Why, then, did you not do the same with the Gospel, the Apostles, or with the writings of any of your own teachers? Would you not seek punishment if anyone dared to do such a thing? Though there may be many definitions and horrific anathemas, and many other prohibitions, do you not consider it shameful to alter the words of documents that have already been published and spread throughout the world, stirring up trouble in the Churches? You are hard-hearted and unfeeling, and your minds are as iron, despising your separated brothers, only so that you can enforce your own will and the novelty you insist on!

What else? After the Seventh Synod, another synod was convened under the reign of the Roman Emperor Basil, gathered by the most holy Patriarch Photius. This synod, which was later called the Eighth Ecumenical Council, had representatives from Pope John, the most blessed senior Pope of Rome, namely Bishops Paul and Eugene, and Priest and Cardinal Peter. This synod also confirmed the Seventh Council and restored the most blessed Photius to his seat, while anathematizing those who would dare to recite this addition to the Creed in the future. It said, "If anyone dares to write another Creed besides this sacred one, or add or subtract anything from it, and calls this a definition, let him be damned and exiled from the Christian community."

The same Pope John, writing to the most holy Photius, speaks even more clearly and extensively when discussing such an

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addition to the Creed. This synod also issued canons that are found in all canonical books. Therefore, is it not just that we separate ourselves from you, since you disregard so many Fathers, many Ecumenical Councils, and those which are well-established, as though they are of no importance?

Latins: Indeed, I had never heard such things until now; but now I am amazed that those who once made the addition, despite so many prohibitions, nevertheless were not at all afraid to present it and pass it on to future generations.

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TEN SYLLOGISMS BY WHICH IT IS SHOWN THAT THE FIRE OF PURGATORY DOES NOT EXIST.

1. Those who see the glory of God, one sees it more perfectly than another; and the one who sees it more perfectly is the one who has been more purged. Now, the fact that someone is more purged implies that another is less purged, namely, the one who enjoys less of the vision. For just as the greater thing is followed by the greater, the lesser thing is followed by the lesser. Hence, the one who still carries some slight faults with them will still see God, and yet they do not need the purgatorial fire, which is replaced by God's mercy, according to the most learned Dionysius of the divine matters, who asserts: "For those who have lived holy lives, a divine and most radiant life is retributed according to each one's merits by the most just scales, and by divine mercy, the stains contracted from human fragility are covered up, so that no one, as the holy scriptures teach, is clean from filth."

2. Again, if those things which are the same according to one thing and the same are in relation to each other, then according to that thing, they do not differ from each other; but those things which do not differ from each other according to anything, do not differ in

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the effect that unites them, and therefore, their proposed goal is not different, but one and the same. But, in fact, the efficiency of the purification, which consists in turning away from sin and in turning toward virtue, corresponds to the vision of God. But between the pure and the pure, there is no difference.

If, therefore, all those who, rejecting sin, have done many good works or have done nothing good, but still died with a right will, should be purified through purgatory, they all, whether purified or pure, do not differ from each other, nor from those who passed away with a right will and with the exercise of virtues. For as far as the rectitude of the will is concerned, they are the same. As for what was lacking in actions, it is made up for through the purgation of the transitory fire. The rest, indeed, is such that neither in their efficiency nor in the goal set for them will they differ from each other, but the same efficiency will be present for all, and in one and the same way, they will achieve the same goal. Therefore, all will see God's glory equally. But truly the Church teaches the contrary, by positing many mansions in God's contemplation, from which arises the diversity of ranks and degrees.

3. Furthermore, in the souls that have been purified, the evil for which the fire was needed is no longer considered, for purification necessarily effects liberation from evil. But evil and good are opposites, as privation and form. Where there is no consideration of privation, there perfect form must be present, since imperfection arises only from privation. Therefore, the soul, being purified, will achieve the perfect good as it demands according to the nature of beatitude. But if many things are perfect in the same species, they will not differ among themselves in good except by number. And since the proposed goal, that is, beatitude, is not granted except for the reason of purification, it follows that all the souls of the deceased, in whose state beatitude consists in the vision of God, will equally partake of it. However, this is false: for the Lord says in the Gospels that there are

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many mansions in the Father's house. By these words, many holy fathers, whose testimonies should not be denied, thought that the degrees of that blessed life are signified. Therefore, it follows that...

4. Furthermore, turning away from sin is a conversion to God and a pursuit of virtue by which we ascend to God. But if the exercise of virtue is joined to the rectitude of the will, then nothing is lacking. But if the will is free from fall, and yet the exercise of virtue is prevented by death, such a soul will not be distinguished from that soul to which both were provided, except by the fact that the exercise of virtue was lacking. If, therefore, without any punishment and in this way, beatitude is acquired, it is absolutely necessary that they not be rewarded with the same and perfect rewards, and thus the diversity of mansions is completely preserved. But if something was lacking, the soul will be purified and will pass through purgatory, and at length, after sufficient punishment, it will be rendered perfectly equal. In this way, all will equally see God, which, as incongruous, is rejected.

5. Furthermore, to attain beatitude, both the rectitude of the will, by which it is properly directed to the universal good, and that which elicits good works worthy of reward, are required. But both the rectitude of the will and the exercise of works necessarily pertain to this life, as you also think: for you assert that the will of souls detained in purgatory is immutable. However, where no motion of the will is directed towards anything at all, there is no one thing that is more worthy than another. Therefore, souls, although they have not been purified by the purgatorial fire, are no less worthy of the vision of God, provided that they departed with a right will, which is principally and most especially required for beatitude. Indeed, if through purgatory the will is not made right from an evil one, and rectitude of the will is required for beatitude, then purgatory

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contributes nothing to it. But what has no effect is placed in vain; and nothing is done in vain by God. Therefore, [purgatory] is not.

6. Moreover, the justice of eternal punishment is shown most clearly in this, that those who have sinned with an evil will have an unchanging will: for to the perpetually evil will, a perpetual punishment is also due. And conversely, in the same way, if someone remains unchanging in doing evil, they are punished with eternal punishment; but if they are not perpetually chastised, they will not have an immutable will. For the one who has the same immutable will, if they remain in evil, is subject to eternal punishment; but if they are in good, why would they need punishment, since they are deserving of crowns? Yet you yourselves claim that those who are purified by such a fire have an immutable will. Therefore, they are not purified by fire.

7. The love of good and their intense desire is the cause why we do not will evil, for one naturally rejects the contrary of what one desires, since evil is opposed to good, and sin to virtue. Therefore, the pursuit of virtue expels sin. For I have said, "I will confess my injustice to the Lord, and You have forgiven the impiety of my heart." And, "You first declare your iniquities so that you may be justified." But you contend that the will of those who are detained in purgatory cannot be changed, because it is rightly disposed. Therefore, they would be chastised who are free from sin and have nothing deserving of punishment.

8. Furthermore, the will can be changed into vice as long as it is joined to the body; but when the soul is separated from the body, whatever will is found in it remains immutable, thereby acquiring either a reward or punishment, without passing through purgatory.

9. Again, it is more fitting for divine goodness not to disdain a small good than to avenge a small fault. But a small good in those who have sinned grievously does not receive any reward due to the

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weight of the evil. Therefore, a small fault in those who have exercised great virtues should not be punished, as they overcome those things that are superior. For if that which seems greater is not, how will it be, then, that that which seems lesser is? Therefore, purgatory fire should not be believed to exist.

10. Lastly, just as a small good in those who are otherwise wicked is not capable of effecting the reward of the good, but only a difference in punishment, so also a small fault in those who are otherwise good does not bring about punishment, but only a difference in fruition. Therefore, it is not to be believed that purgatorial fire exists.

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THE BOOKLET OF MARK OF EPHESUS ON
EUCCHARISTIC CONSECRATION.

1. We, who have received the exposition of the mystical liturgy from the sacred apostles and their successors, the teachers of the Church, find nowhere among them that the divine gifts are sanctified and perfected by the Lord's words alone, and that the body and blood of the Lord are transubstantiated solely by those words. Rather, what is first recited serves, by unanimous consent, to recall to mind the event that took place, and to pour out power upon the proposed gifts for the transformation. However, what follows afterward, namely, the prayer and blessing of the priest, in reality transforms the gifts into the very prototype of that body and blood of the Lord. This very sequence of words testifies to this, which we find consistent and harmonious among us, and the entire prayer will consist of these elements.

2. For in the liturgy of the sacred apostles, written by Clement, after the narration of the Lord's miracles and actions, as well as His passion, resurrection, and return to heaven, it is written word for word: "Therefore, remembering all that He suffered for us, we give You thanks, Almighty God, not as much as we owe, but as much as

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we are able, and we fulfill His command. For in the night in which He was betrayed, taking bread into His holy and immaculate hands, and lifting up His eyes to You, God and His Father, He broke it, gave it to His disciples, saying: 'Take, eat: this is My body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins.' Likewise, also the cup, mingled with wine and water, He sanctified, and gave it to them, saying: 'Drink of this, all of you: this is My blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins; do this in remembrance of Me.' Therefore, remembering His passion, death, resurrection, ascension into heaven, and His second glorious and terrifying coming, in which He will come with glory to judge the living and the dead, and to repay everyone according to their works, we offer to You, the King and God, according to His institution, this bread and this cup, giving You thanks through them, that You have deigned to allow us to stand before You and to offer to You a sacrifice. And we ask You, that with a propitious and serene countenance, You look upon these holy gifts placed before You, You who are in need of nothing, God: and may it please You to accept them for the honor of Your Christ, and be pleased to send down Your Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the witness of the passions of our Lord Jesus, so that it may transform this bread into the body of Your Christ and this cup into the blood of Your Christ."

3. These indeed were handed down by the holy apostles through the writing of blessed Clement to the Church. Moreover, Saint James, the first bishop of Jerusalem and the brother and successor of the first great high priest, also explaining the mystical liturgy in the same part, after the recitation of the Lord's words, wrote: "Therefore, remembering also the passions of His life-giving Cross, the salvation of His death, the tomb, and the resurrection from the dead on the third day, His ascension into heaven, and His sitting at Your right hand, God and Father, and His second glorious and

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fearful coming, when He will come in glory to judge the living and the dead, and to repay each according to their works, we offer to You, O Lord, this venerable and bloodless sacrifice." And shortly thereafter: "Have mercy on us, O God, according to Your great mercy, and send down upon us and upon these holy gifts placed before You Your most holy Spirit, the Lord and Life-giver, who with You, God the Father, and Your only-begotten Son, sits, reigning together, consubstantial and coeternal, who spoke in the law and the prophets and in Your New Testament, who descended in the form of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the Jordan River and remained upon Him; who descended upon Your holy apostles in the form of fiery tongues in the upper room of holy and glorious Zion, on the day of holy Pentecost: send down this same most holy Spirit now upon us, and upon these holy gifts placed before You, that He, coming, may sanctify and make this bread the holy body of Your Christ, and this cup the precious blood of Your Christ."

4. Following these, there are those who later produced a more concise version of the liturgy, such as the great Basil and, after him, John Chrysostom. Indeed, when Basil approached this part, he also recited the first consecration handed down by the Lord, saying: "He dismissed," he says, "the salutary memorials of His passion, those which we have proposed according to His commands. For it was necessary that He should go to His voluntary and most blessed and life-giving death, on the night in which He gave Himself for the life of the world, taking bread into His holy and immaculate hands, and lifting it up to You, God and His Father, giving thanks, blessing, sanctifying, breaking it, He gave it to His holy disciples and apostles, saying: 'Take and eat: this is My body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins.' Likewise, taking the cup from the fruit of the vine, mixing it, giving thanks, blessing, sanctifying, He gave it to His holy disciples and apostles, saying: 'Drink of this, all of you: this is My

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blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of Me.” And after a few more words: “Therefore, O most holy Lord, we, sinners and unworthy Your servants, who have been appointed to minister at Your holy altar, not because of our righteousness (for we do nothing good on earth), but because of Your abundant mercies and compassion which You have poured out upon us, we confidently approach Your holy altar, and offering these antitypes, that is, the representations of the holy body and blood of Your Christ, we beseech You and pray to You, O Holy of Holies, that by Your benignity and good will, You send Your Holy Spirit upon us and upon these proposed gifts, and bless them and sanctify them, and show this bread indeed to be the honorable body of the Lord, our God and Savior Jesus Christ; and this cup, indeed, to be the precious blood of the Lord, our God and Savior Jesus Christ, which was shed for the life of the world.” Saint John Chrysostom also again, more concisely explaining: “The Lord, having completed all the mysteries for us, on the night He was betrayed—or rather, He gave Himself for the life of the world—taking bread into His holy and immaculate hands, after giving thanks, He blessed it, sanctifying and breaking it, He gave it to His holy disciples and apostles, saying: ‘Take and eat: this is My body, which is broken for you for the remission of sins.’ Likewise, after dining, He took the cup, saying: ‘Drink of this, all of you: this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.’” And shortly thereafter, he continues: “We offer to You this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice, and we pray, beseech, and ask You to send Your Holy Spirit upon us and upon these proposed gifts: and make this bread the precious body of Your Christ; and what is in this cup, the precious blood of Your Christ, transforming them by Your Holy Spirit.”

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5. Indeed, all of these, in harmony, first recite the Lord's words, and through them, they lead us to the remembrance of the event then performed, and they impart the sanctifying power and potency into that which is consecrated. Afterward, they make a prayer and call upon the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that the Spirit, coming, may apply what was spoken to the present realities, and perfect the proposed gifts, transforming them into the Lord's body and blood. For it was He who, in the womb of the Virgin, created that divine flesh, according to the words spoken to her by the angel: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you." Therefore, even the great Basil, after reciting the words of the Lord, calls the proposed gifts "antitypes"—namely, as though they were not yet perfected by those words, but still bearing some kind of type or image. And so, immediately afterward, he prays that the Holy Spirit may come and make this bread the precious body, and this cup the precious blood. This is certainly most fitting. For just as in the first creation of the world, the earth received its power to bring forth what grows upon it by divine command, and as the same Doctor says, that command, abiding in the earth, perpetually gives it the power to bear fruit, so too is it necessary for our care, in the hands of farmers, to complete what the earth produces. In the same way, the word spoken once by the Savior, as St. Chrysostom says, continually operates; yet the grace of the divine priesthood helps, interceding through prayer and blessing, for the perfection of the proposed gifts. For the Holy Spirit also makes the water of baptism, which was simply water, into the expiation of all sins, invisibly working within it. The same Holy Spirit works through the chrism with which we are anointed, through the priests themselves, and through all the other mysteries of the Church. Now, we do not pray for the proposed gifts thinking that the words we utter are impotent, nor do we think that the prayer we offer has no effect; rather, we believe that the words

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themselves retain their power, and we demonstrate the faculty of the divine priesthood, which, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit, has the power to accomplish the entire mystery. For St. Chrysostom, in his work on the Priesthood, also says the following on this matter: "The priest stands, not giving fire, but the Holy Spirit; and he prays for a long time, not that some flame sent down from heaven might consume the proposed gifts, but that the grace might descend upon the offering and inflame all hearts, and make them more brilliant than purified silver." But there should be no hesitation or uncertainty in our prayer, since the one who is sacrificed and who partakes of the Lord has commanded us to do this (For He said, "Do this in remembrance of Me") and has promised to give the Holy Spirit to all who ask for Him, not just to priests. He desires that this be done by us every day, as is shown to us in all things. Perhaps you also have doubts about baptism, which is similarly accomplished by prayers and invocations, whether you have truly received the remission of sins. Do you question the grace granted to you by the priesthood? Or do you doubt the efficacy of other ecclesiastical mysteries prescribed by the Church? Certainly not. For He, who promised to be with us always, even to the end of the world, is faithful.

6. And indeed, we have received these teachings from the holy apostles and their successors, and we hold to them in such a way that we cannot be moved from this position, and we give an account of their reasoning. But no one, neither apostles nor teachers, is seen to have said that the words of the Lord, spoken in the manner of a simple recitation, are sufficient for the sanctification of the gifts. Rather, the fact that those words, once spoken by the Lord, continue to operate as if they were always present in the work of creation, as St. John of the Golden Mouth says, is what gives them power. However, what is now spoken by the priest—this itself, as spoken by him—could not be learned from anyone else. For just as the word of the

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Creator operates through everything that is done by someone, so the word spoken once by God continues to work. Indeed, we cannot say that the Lord's word works simply because it was spoken by anyone, nor without the altar. Therefore, if the priest's role and the altar are necessary, and the other things that pertain to it, why should it not also be the case that prayer, blessing, and the coming of the Holy Spirit are also necessary for the perfection and completion of the mysteries? To this, the sacred Dionysius adds his testimony to confirm our rites. In his treatise on the theory of the mystery of the synaxis, he says: "Where the sacred works of God are celebrated by the hierarch, the consecration is approached; and first, he offers an explanation, exclaiming: 'You said: Do this in remembrance of Me'; then, following the imitation of God, he prays to be made worthy to perform this consecration and to bring about the divine actions of Christ, imparting them most sacredly, so that the holy gifts may be most reverently received. Then he performs the divine sacraments, presenting with his eyes what he has accomplished through the sacred gifts. For the bread, which was whole and indivisible, being opened and distributed into many parts, and the unity of the chalice being divided among all, symbolically multiplies and distributes the unity." And shortly after: "By the prescribed communion, the hierarch ceases from the sacred action of thanksgiving."

7. This is available to anyone who wishes to contemplate it, to see with whom it agrees, whether with those things that are questioned of us, or with those things that are questioned by the Latins. For we, following the holy apostles and teachers according to the interpretations handed down by them, and this same sacred interpreter, celebrate the sacred works of God, that is, as He says, the incarnation of God for us, His death for us, the divine generation of the baptized, the divine adoption, and deification through the keeping of the commandments. Thus, when we come to the

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consecration, we first offer an excuse for this and exclaim the very words of the Lord which He then spoke, and we add what He commanded: "Do this," He says, "in remembrance of Me." Then, praying that we may be made worthy of the composition of this consecration according to the imitation of God, as the interpretations contain, we accomplish the most divine sacraments, through the intercession of prayer and blessing, as well as the accession of the Divine Spirit. Meanwhile, the covered bread, which is indivisible, being opened and cut into many parts, we distribute the unity of the chalice to all. The Latin priest, however, recites the Lord's words, as He commanded: "Take, eat," and "Drink ye all of it," and "Do this in remembrance of Me"; yet he does not consecrate any more, but considers this recitation of the words to be sufficient for the sanctification and consecration. Then, having broken the bread, not covered in the meantime but as it happens, wherever it is touched, he lifts a portion and places it in the chalice; whatever is left is placed in the mouth, and after drinking the entire chalice, he encourages those ministering with him, the deacons, to greet one another, imparting nothing to anyone, while glorifying the Lord's word, "Take, eat ye all," and "Drink ye all of it." Do these manifest a clear contradiction to what has been handed down to us in the interpretations of the liturgies, and to the words of the Lord, and to the very words they use? Certainly, those who feel this way will dare to blame us and more curiously investigate and interpret our rites, which are so in agreement with the holy fathers. But Chrysostom says, "The Lord's word, once spoken, makes the sacrifice complete." He says, "once spoken," not that which is now spoken by the priest, but that which was spoken once by the Savior, for it is He who imparts the power and potency to the proposed gifts, not to perfect them in action. This is accomplished by the coming of the Holy Spirit through the priest's prayer, and this is made clear from what Chrysostom says, as we have

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already explained: "Send, He says, Your Holy Spirit, and make this bread the precious body of Christ, and that which is in this chalice the precious blood of Christ, changing them by Your Holy Spirit." If this does not convince those who are contentious, they must certainly be regarded as pitiable, for they are held by double ignorance and a profound blindness.

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THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF MARK OF EPHESUS WRITTEN IN FLORENCE, BUT PUBLISHED AFTER THE FINAL SYNOD.

1. I, by the favor of God, being imbued with sound doctrines and in all things obedient to the holy and catholic Church, believe and confess that God the Father alone is unbegotten and without origin, being the fountain and cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. For the Son is begotten of Him, and the Spirit proceeds from Him, without the Son contributing anything to the procession or the Spirit to the generation. In other words, the progressions arise simultaneously, originating independently, as the theological Fathers teach. Thus, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed through the Son, that is, with the Son and as the Son, though not in the manner of generation as the Son. The Son, however, is not said to be generated through the Spirit because the name "Son" is relative and implies the relationship to the Father, lest the Son be thought to be of the Spirit. Thus, the Spirit is indeed called the Spirit of the Son, as He is proper to Him by nature and through Him is manifested and given to humanity, while the Son is neither of the Spirit nor called such, as testified by Gregory of Nyssa. If the words "proceed through the Son"

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were to indicate causality, as some modern theologians assert, rather than signifying that the Spirit shines forth and appears through Him, proceeding simultaneously and accompanying Him, as the divine Damascene states, then all theologians would not have unanimously and explicitly excluded the idea of causality from the Son. One theologian says: "There is one source (that is, one cause) of the superessential Godhead, the Father, and this is distinguished from the Son and the Spirit." Another affirms: "The Father alone is unbegotten and the sole source of the Godhead." Another states: "Whatever the Father has, the Son also has, except being the cause." Yet another observes: "The Romans themselves do not consider the Son to be the cause of the Holy Spirit." Finally, another asserts: "The Father alone is the cause." The divine Damascene, being a most acute theologian, would not have used the preposition "through" in speaking of the Son while rejecting "from." In the eighth chapter of his theological work, he states: "We do not say the Spirit is from the Son but call Him the Spirit of the Son and confess that He is manifested and supplied to us through the Son." Again, in the thirteenth chapter, he writes: "The Spirit is of the Son, not as from Him, but as proceeding from the Father through Him; for the Father alone is the cause." In his letter to Jordan near its end, he remarks: "The Spirit, subsisting personally as breath and product, is supplied through the Son, not as existing from the Son, but as the Spirit of the mouth of the Word of God." Finally, in his discourse on the burial of the Lord's body, he declares: "The Holy Spirit is of God and the Father, as proceeding from Him; and He is also said to be of the Son, as being supplied through Him and communicated to creatures, but not as having existence from Him." It is evident that the preposition "through," when it denotes causal mediation as the Latins claim, is entirely equivalent to the preposition "from" and interchangeable with it. For example, the phrase "I acquired a man through God" is the same as "from God," and "a man

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through a woman” means “from a woman.” Therefore, when the preposition “from” is excluded, it is clear that the causality is also excluded. Consequently, the Holy Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son only in the sense that, proceeding from the Father, He is manifested, known, or revealed through the Son according to the precise understanding of theology. Basil the Great states: “The hypostatic property of the Spirit is made known in this way, that He is known after the Son and with the Son, and that He subsists from the Father.” Thus, the term “through the Son” signifies being known with the Son. There is no other property of the Spirit in relation to the Son assigned here except being known with Him, nor any other to the Father except subsisting from Him. Therefore, the Spirit neither subsists nor has existence from the Son. For why, then, could it not be said that the Spirit proceeds through the Son in the same manner as all things are said to have been made through the Son? However, the latter is stated because “through” is used in place of “from,” whereas the former is not, nor can one find anywhere that the Spirit is said to proceed through the Son without mention of the Father. The Spirit is said to proceed from the Father through the Son, which does not necessarily ascribe causality to the Son. This is why the phrase “from the Son” never appears and is explicitly excluded.

2. As for the statements of the Western Fathers and teachers that attribute causality of the Holy Spirit to the Son, I neither recognize them (for they have never been translated into our language nor approved by the ecumenical councils) nor accept them, relying on this reasoning: that they are corrupt and interpolated. This is apparent for many reasons, but especially due to the volume of the Seventh Ecumenical Council presented by them two or three days ago, containing a definition with an addition to the Creed. Those present know the shame they exhibited when this was recited. However, the Fathers did not write anything contrary to the

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ecumenical councils and their universal decrees—indeed, nothing that does not align with the Eastern Fathers' teachings and fully agrees with them, as is demonstrated by many other statements of theirs. Therefore, I reject such dangerous phrases about the procession of the Holy Spirit, and together with Saint Damascene, I do not say that the Spirit is "from the Son," even if someone else, of whatever rank, appears to say this. Nor do I say that the Son is the cause or producer of the Holy Spirit, lest there be imagined another principle in the Trinity, and thus two causes and two principles. For "cause" in this context does not mean anything essential (which as common pertains equally to the three persons). Therefore, the Latins will never escape the duality of principle as long as they say that the Son is a principle of the Holy Spirit. For "principle" is a personal property by which the persons are distinguished.

3. Therefore, obeying in all things the holy and ecumenical seven councils and the God-enlightened Fathers who shone forth in them, I believe in one God: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages; Light of Light, true God of true God; begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, through whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; who was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered, and was buried. And He rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures; and ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father. And He will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, whose kingdom will have no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father; who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified, who spoke by the prophets. And in one,

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holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins. I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen."

4. This sacred creed and profession of faith, established by the First and Second Ecumenical Councils and subsequently confirmed and strengthened by the rest, I fully accept, keep, and embrace with all my soul. Together with the aforementioned seven councils, I also accept the one that was convened after them during the reign of the pious Roman Emperor Basil and the most holy Patriarch Photius, which is called the Eighth Ecumenical Council. This council, in the presence of the legates of the most blessed Pope John of Old Rome—namely Bishops Paul and Eugene, and Peter, presbyter and cardinal—confirmed and promulgated the Seventh Ecumenical Council and decreed that it should be united with the preceding councils. It restored the most holy Photius to his rightful see and anathematized and subjected to condemnation, as in the earlier ecumenical councils, all who dared to introduce an addition or subtraction or any alteration whatsoever to the sacred Creed. For it says: "If anyone shall dare to compose a creed other than this sacred Creed, or to add or subtract anything under the guise of definition, let him be condemned and cut off from all Christian communion." The same is proclaimed even more abundantly and clearly by Pope John in his letter to the most holy Photius regarding any addition to the Creed. The canons issued by that council are also found in all canonical books.

5. Therefore, according to the decrees of this and the other councils that were convened before it, I believe the sacred symbol of faith must be preserved intact, just as it was originally formulated. Receiving those whom they receive and rejecting those whom they reject, I shall never admit into communion anyone who has presumed to add something new to the sacred Creed concerning the procession

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of the Holy Spirit, as long as they persist in such innovation. For, as it is written: "Whoever communicates with an excommunicated person, let him also be outside communion." Saint Chrysostom, explaining Paul's words—"If anyone preaches to you a gospel other than what you have received, let him be anathema"—states: "He does not say if they proclaim something contrary or subvert the entire gospel, but if they preach even a little beyond what you have received, if they alter anything, let them be anathema." And again, the same Chrysostom says: "One must show moderation, but never betray the truth." The great Basil, in his *Ascetics*, says: "It is a clear desertion of the faith and a sign of pride to reject anything that is written or to introduce anything that is not written, as our Lord Jesus Christ says: 'My sheep hear my voice.' And He had already said: 'A stranger they will not follow but will flee from him because they do not know the voice of strangers.'" And in his letter to the monks, he writes: "If anyone pretends to profess sound faith but communicates with people of another opinion, unless they cease after being admonished, let them not only be excluded from communion but not even be called brothers." Before these, the God-bearing Ignatius wrote in his letters to Saint Polycarp of Smyrna: "Whoever speaks apart from the things that have been established—even if he is trustworthy, fasts, maintains virginity, performs wonders, or prophesies—consider him a wolf in sheep's clothing, bringing destruction to the sheep." And why say more? All the teachers of the Church, every council, and all of divine Scripture urge us to avoid people of other sects and flee from communion with them. Why should I, disregarding all these, follow those who, under the guise of false peace, seek to form a union, who adulterate the sacred Creed and claim the Son is another cause of the Holy Spirit? I pass over for now the other absurdities, any one of which would be sufficient cause for us to separate from them. May such a thing never happen, O good Paraclete! May I never stray so far

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from You or from sound doctrine. Rather, I resolve to pursue Your teaching and follow the blessed men inspired by You. In the end, may I be united with my fathers, bringing with me, if nothing else, the reward of having upheld the true faith.

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REPORT OF MARK OF EPHESUS ON THE EVENTS HE PARTICIPATED IN DURING THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE.

1. Because of the mandate and the necessity of the Church of Christ, I accepted the pontifical office, a duty so far beyond my merits and abilities. Following the Ecumenical Patriarch and the divinely appointed king and emperor, I journeyed to the council held in Italy, disregarding the illness from which I suffered and not deterred by the significant difficulties surrounding the matter at hand, which was of the utmost importance. I hoped, with God's favor and the efforts of our shared patrons, that all would proceed successfully, and that we might accomplish some great work worthy of our efforts and expectations. However, upon arriving, we immediately experienced dealings with the Latins far different from what we had hoped. Despair quickly set in. One who stood near me began to speak thus: "Surely these men will not allow their customs and doctrines to be altered in any way, for they have shown us nothing but arrogance." Meanwhile, we were ordered to wait, enduring long delays until the full council could assemble. At last, the appointed time arrived. Even

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then, many days passed before the Greeks and Latins finally convened in one place to begin disputing the addition made to the Creed.

2. Opening the Debate. Entrusted with the responsibility of initiating the discussions, I began by attributing the cause of dissension to them, accusing them of being poor cultivators of friendship and filled with arrogance. They defended themselves by casting blame upon us and asserting their innocence, as is their custom. In subsequent sessions, I presented the acts of the sacred councils, reciting the definitions of those holy Fathers, who forbade any alteration of the Creed, down to the very word and syllable. They decreed terrible anathemas against those who dared to make any change. Bishops and clergy who did so were to lose their priestly office and the grace granted to them, while laymen would be subject to anathema, which is separation from God. Using unbreakable syllogisms, I demonstrated the necessity of my reasoning and showed that the definitions could not be understood in any way other than how I explained and understood them. When we saw that the Latins, putting aside all pretense of genuine inquiry, were not pursuing the truth for its own sake but only seeking to maintain appearances before their followers, they did everything in their power to close the sessions on their terms. They aimed to speak last so as to refute what we had brought forward. Seeing this, we abandoned further disputation and turned to entreaty. We pleaded with words that could have moved even hearts of stone, urging a return to that splendid concord which once united us—when we all believed and spoke as the Fathers did, and there was no schism among us. But as we spoke, it seemed we were singing to deaf ears, baking stones, sowing seeds upon rocks, writing upon water, or engaging in any other proverbial act of futility. Though proven wrong by arguments and cornered by logic, they admitted no correction. Their obstinacy seemed the result of an incurable sickness. They pressed us to proceed to a dogmatic inquiry,

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claiming that the issue of the addition had been sufficiently addressed. They believed that if their doctrine were proven sound, the addition to the Creed would be justified. However, our side would not tolerate this. We refused to discuss the doctrine unless the addition was first corrected. We would have persisted in this course until the end and withdrawn from the council, had we not been dissuaded by some who argued that it would be disgraceful to leave without addressing the doctrinal issue. Thus, a compromise was reached to transition from debating the addition to examining the doctrine itself. It was also agreed to move the council from Ferrara to Florence.

3. At Florence: Disputation on Doctrine. When we arrived in Florence, we began the disputation on the doctrine. The Latins presented arguments drawn from sources that were either apocryphal and obscure or corrupted and falsified, asserting that these supported their position. Once more, I engaged with them and clearly demonstrated the absurdity of their position while proving the corruption of their texts. Yet, I achieved nothing. I could not persuade them, and my time was wasted. For every argument they made, they met my responses with further words, one discourse giving rise to another, as often happens in such debates. The truth was not allowed to manifest itself, as they covered it with a flood of ink and obscured it with lengthy speeches. Finally, exhausted in hope and strength—both because of my ongoing illness and because I saw only empty words being exchanged—I delivered the longest discourse I could manage. I laid out numerous irrefutable testimonies proving the truth of our doctrine, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds solely from the Father and not from the Son. Beginning with the words of the Gospels, I progressed through the Apostles and their successors, all the way to the Third Ecumenical Council. I carefully examined every statement, applied syllogisms to each, and concluded that the Latins' novel doctrine had been universally condemned.

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4. Withdrawal from the Latins' Debates. After delivering my concluding address, I took leave of their assemblies, resolved either to avoid their sessions altogether or to remain silent. Yet they summoned our delegation, whether we wished it or not, claiming they wished to respond to the points we had raised. Since I was unable to attend due to illness, they held two successive sessions without us, where they spoke without contradiction. In the first session, they presented the words of their own theologians, asserting that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. In the second session, they distorted my arguments rather than refuting them and presented what they claimed were contradictory opinions of our own Fathers. When I was silent, none of our delegation dared to oppose them further, as all sought to avoid the disputes, fearing they might become entangled in controversy and discord. Seeing our silence, they regarded it as an unexpected gain and provoked us to debate, as if we had fled the fight. When we declined, they celebrated themselves as victors, claiming to have upheld the truth. They never failed to do this, being so inclined by nature, ever ready to contradict and ascribe victory to themselves.

5. Compromises and Manipulations for Unity. From this point, talk of economy and condescension began to arise. Some among us suggested that it would be good to embrace peace and demonstrate agreement among the saints so that the Westerners and Easterners might not appear to speak contrarily. One even began to philosophize about the preposition "through," suggesting that it could mean the same as "from" in our Fathers' writings and thereby attribute causality of the Spirit to the Son. Thus, Latinizing ideas gradually emerged, and the focus shifted to devising terms for peace. They sought phrases that were ambiguous and could be interpreted in either sense, much like a cothurnus (a sandal that fits either foot). Their plan seemed aimed at persuading our side to agree easily, while

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also hoping the Latins would accept these terms without scrutiny. Eventually, a document was drafted, containing statements that aligned with the Latins' views but presented as terms of union. This document was sent to the Latins, as if through it unity might be achieved. However, they refused to accept the document without first examining it. They either demanded its ambiguities be resolved or insisted on the acceptance of their own document, which had already been sent to us. This Latin document expressed full agreement and confession of the dogma that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son.

6. Deception, Delay, and Pressure for Union. Much time was wasted after these events, and our delegation grew weary of the delays. They lamented their poverty and complained of hunger, for it had also been contrived that no promised provisions were supplied to us, hoping we would eventually yield under this pressure. What more can I say? The traitors to their own salvation and faith spared no effort, until finally, with the emperor, the patriarch, and the despot present, they caused Latinism to break forth openly. They brought forward statements that appeared to support the Latins' position, citing both their theologians and the writings of Saint Cyril. Engaging in debate with me, they frequently insulted me with sophistic arguments during the sessions. At one point, they asked the council what it thought of these statements and whether it confessed the Son as a cause of the Spirit. The council answered that they did not doubt the authenticity of the statements as being from the Fathers, relying on a letter attributed to Saint Maximus. However, the majority refused to attribute causality of the Spirit to the Son, as the wise Maximus himself had declared. Yet those bold in impiety, who had supported the Latins from the beginning, were further enticed by promises and gifts. With shameless audacity, they declared the Son to be a cause of the Spirit, a claim not even explicitly found in the Latins' own

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statements. The patriarch himself followed their judgment, having long been corrupted and desiring to end the council, even though death was already pressing him toward his grave.

7. My Testimony and Final Witness. As for me, I had prepared my written confession of faith, for it had been previously agreed that each participant would submit a written statement of their position. When I saw how eagerly they rushed toward union and how those who had once stood with me had now fallen to their side, and seeing that no mention was being made of written statements, I withheld my own document. I feared provoking them and exposing myself to certain danger. Nevertheless, I openly expressed my beliefs, stating that the teachings of the Western and Eastern Fathers could only be reconciled according to the interpretation of the venerable Maximus. That is, the Son cannot be a cause of the Spirit. I also noted that the addition to the Creed was neither properly made nor justly introduced. Afterward, they pursued their plans, drafting their definitions and finalizing the terms of union. As for me, I withdrew from them and devoted myself to my Fathers and teachers. Through this written testimony, I make my position known to all, so that anyone who wishes may judge whether I have defended the truth or rejected it, and whether I refused to embrace a union based on perverse doctrines.

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ENCYCLOPICAL LETTER OF MARK OF EPHESUS AGAINST THE GREEK-LATINS AND THE DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE.

1. Although they have sought to captivate us and lead us into the Babylon of Latin rites and doctrines, they have not succeeded in bringing this intention to fruition. They have come to understand that such a thing is contrary to nature and altogether impossible. Therefore, stopping midway on this journey, both they themselves and their followers have ceased to be what they once were and have not become what they aimed to be. For they have abandoned Jerusalem, the true "vision of peace," and Mount Zion, that is, the firm and unshakable faith. Yet they neither wish to be nor can they ever become Babylonians. For this reason, they may rightly be called "Greek-Latins," though they are commonly referred to by the more familiar term, "Latinizing." These people, like the mythical centaurs—half-beast, half-man—profess with the Latins that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and that the Son is the cause of His subsistence (these are their own words). Yet with us, they claim the Spirit proceeds from the Father. With the Latins, they argue that the addition to the Creed was lawful and reasonable; with us, they refuse

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to recite it. For who would object to reciting something they believe was lawfully and reasonably added? With the Latins, they declare the unleavened bread to be the Body of Christ, but with us, they dare not receive it in communion. Are these not sufficient proofs to reveal their disposition? Their aim was not a sincere desire to investigate the truth, which they held in their hands but discarded. They sought union with the Latins, not for the sake of true unity but rather to gain gold and fashion a false union.

2. But how were they joined to the Latins? This must be considered. For everything that is joined to another must necessarily be united by some medium. As regards the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, they appeared to join the Latins by affirming that the Spirit has His subsistence also from the Son. In all other respects, however, they differ, and there is no unity, medium, or commonality between them. Two distinct Creeds are still recited, just as before. Two different forms of sacrifice exist: one made with leavened bread, the other with unleavened. There are also two forms of baptism: one by triple immersion, the other by pouring water on the crown of the head. One uses chrism, the other considers it unnecessary. Their practices, customs, fasts, and ecclesiastical rites differ entirely. Where, then, is this union, when no clear and manifest sign of it can be seen? How can those who insist on retaining their own ways be said to be united? They consented to this union under the condition that they could retain their own traditions, even though they departed from the teachings of the Fathers.

3. But what is the excellent reasoning they put forth? "Never," they say, "has the Church of the Greeks stated that the Spirit proceeds only from the Father, but simply that He proceeds from the Father. This does not exclude the Son from participation in the Spirit's procession. By this reasoning, we were united before and are still united now." O madness of men! O blindness! If the Church of the

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Greeks has always said "from the Father" as it was taught by Christ Himself, the Holy Apostles, and the Fathers of the Councils, but never "from the Son" (for this has never been received from anyone), what else does this assert but that the Spirit proceeds only from the Father? For if not from the Son, then clearly from the Father alone. You can confirm this by the example of generation: "Begotten of the Father before all ages." Does anyone add "of the Father alone"? Yet we understand this without need of addition, for we know the Son is begotten of no one else. Thus, John of Damascus, speaking on behalf of the entire Church and all Christians, says: "We do not say the Spirit is 'from the Son.'" If, therefore, we do not say the Spirit is from the Son, we surely say He is from the Father alone. For this reason, he had said shortly before: "We do not call the Son the cause." And in the next chapter, he declares: "The Father alone is the cause."

4. What more? They say, "We have never regarded the Latins as heretics, but only as schismatics." But they have taken this argument from the Latins themselves, for the Latins call us schismatics, having no grounds to accuse us concerning our doctrine but only because, as they claim, we have departed from the obedience they believe is due to them. Should we, then, grant the same consideration to them, and not accuse them of their doctrine? This must be examined. The cause of the schism, without doubt, came from them when they openly introduced an addition to the Creed, which they previously muttered secretly. We did not first separate ourselves from them; rather, we severed and cut them off from the common body of the Church. And why, I ask? Was it because they held right beliefs, or because of a lawfully made addition? Who could say such a thing unless they are entirely deranged? No, it was because they held absurd and impious opinions and were the reckless authors of the addition. Thus, we rejected them as heretics, and for this reason, we are separated from them. For what other reason could there be? The pious laws state: "A

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heretic is anyone who deviates even slightly from the true faith and is subject to the laws established against heretics." If, then, the Latins do not deviate from the true faith, we have wrongfully cut them off. But if they do deviate—and that in regard to the divinity of the Holy Spirit, where blasphemy is the gravest and most destructive danger—then they are heretics, and we have cut them off as heretics from the communion of the faithful. Why, then, do we anoint with chrism those who come over to us from among them? Is it not clear that it is because we regard them as heretics? The seventh canon of the Second Ecumenical Council states: "Those who come to the true faith from heresies, and who seek the portion of salvation, are received according to the prescribed custom we set forth. The Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, Novatians (who call themselves Cathari and Aristeri), the Quartodecimans, and the Apollinarists are received upon giving a written renunciation of their errors and anathematizing every heresy that is not in accord with the holy, catholic, and apostolic Church of God. They are then sealed with the holy chrism on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears, and we say, 'The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit.'" You see, then, to whom we liken those who come over to us from the Latins? If all these are heretics, then the Latins, too, must be counted among the heretics. What, then, does Theodore Balsamon, the learned Patriarch of Antioch, write in response to the questions of Mark, the most holy Patriarch of Alexandria? He states: "The captive Latins and others who approach our holy catholic churches and request participation in divine sanctification—should this be granted to them? We desire to know. 'He who is not with Me is against Me, and he who does not gather with Me scatters.' Since, therefore, many years ago the Western Church—that is, the renowned Roman portion—was separated from the communion of the other most holy four Patriarchs, having been carried away into customs and doctrines foreign to the catholic Church and Orthodox practices (for this

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reason, the Pope is not included in the common commemoration of the patriarchal names during the divine sacrifices), it is not fitting for a Latin to be sanctified by a priestly hand through the divine and immaculate Mysteries unless he first renounces the doctrines and customs of the Latins, is canonically catechized, and is received into the number of the Orthodox.” Do you hear this? They were carried away not only into foreign customs but also into doctrines that the Church does not recognize. And whatever the Orthodox do not recognize is undoubtedly heretical. Do you also hear that they must be canonically initiated and received into the number of the Orthodox? If they must be initiated, then they must also surely be anointed with chrism. How, then, do they suddenly appear to us as Orthodox, when for so many years and by so many Fathers and teachers, they have been judged heretics? Who made them so easily Orthodox? Gold, if we are to speak the truth, and your own profit! In truth, however, gold did not make them Orthodox; rather, it made you like them and cast you into the company of heretics.

5. But what if, someone suggests, we devise some middle ground between the doctrines, by which we can unite with them and resolve our affairs most effectively, without being compelled to admit anything beyond what is familiar to us and handed down by the Fathers? This is precisely what has deceived many from the beginning, persuading them to follow men who led them into the precipices of impiety. Believing that there could be a middle ground between two opposing positions, as happens in certain opposites, they rushed headlong to their destruction. Certainly, a phrase might be found that is intermediate between two opinions, equivocally expressing both. However, for a middle position to exist between opposing doctrines on the same matter is impossible. Otherwise, there would also be a middle ground between truth and falsehood, affirmation and negation. But there is none, for regarding every matter, it is either

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affirmation or negation. If, therefore, the doctrine of the Latins—that the Spirit proceeds from the Son—is true, then our doctrine, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, is false, and this has caused the schism. Conversely, if our doctrine is true, theirs is false. What middle ground could there possibly be between these? Absolutely none, except perhaps some phrase crafted to accommodate both opinions, like a boot that fits either foot. Could such a contrivance bring about peace? What shall we do when we examine our respective thoughts and opinions? Could it be possible for those holding contrary beliefs to both be called Orthodox? I, for one, cannot believe it. But you, who mix everything together and easily apply names to all things, may know better. Do you wish to hear from Gregory the Theologian what he writes about "middles"? "An image," he says, "looking toward all who pass by, a common boot for either foot, a thing that shifts with every wind, using written craftiness and trickery against the truth. For the term 'likeness,' according to Scripture, was a pretext for piety, covering the hook of impiety." This was concerning the middle ground once conceived. Regarding the council that devised such a middle, he further says: "Whether we call it the Tower of Chalana, which properly divided tongues (would that it had divided these as well, for their consensus was in evil); or the council of Caiaphas, in which Christ was condemned; or by some other similar name, that council overturned and confused everything, demolishing the ancient pious doctrine that supported the Trinity. For it set up a rampart, undermined the faith of consubstantiality with its machinery, and opened the door to impiety through the writing of middle positions and the misuse of terms. For they were ingenious in wrongdoing, though they knew not what it was to do rightly." Let this suffice for us regarding the middle ground, for we have sufficiently demonstrated that there is no such thing and that it is impious and alien to the mind of the Church to seek such middle grounds.

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6. What, then, is to be said of these Greek-Latins who embrace a middle position, openly approving some of the Latin doctrines and practices, partially approving others without fully accepting them, and entirely rejecting yet others? Such men are to be avoided as one avoids serpents—and indeed even more so than those who exploit Christ for gain, treating Him as a means of profit. These are the men, as the Apostle says, who "suppose that godliness is a means of gain," concerning whom he adds, "Avoid such men, for they do not come to learn but to acquire something for themselves." What fellowship has light with darkness, or what concord has Christ with Belial? What portion does a believer share with an unbeliever? For we, with St. John of Damascus and all the Fathers, say that the Spirit proceeds not from the Son; but these men, with the Latins, say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. We, with St. Dionysius, say that the Father alone is the fountain of the superessential divinity; but they, with the Latins, assert that the Son is also the fountain of the Holy Spirit, thereby excluding the Spirit from the divinity. We, with Gregory the Theologian, distinguish the Son from the Father by causality; but they, with the Latins, conflate them in causality. We, with St. Maximus the Confessor and the Romans of his time, and with the Western Fathers, do not recognize the Son as a cause of the Holy Spirit; but they proclaim the Son as the cause according to the Greeks, or as the principle according to the Latins, of the Spirit in their creed—or rather their disgraceful manifesto, which we must respect as such by calling it a "tail" to be tucked between the thighs. We, with Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, say, "As the Son is from the Father, so also is the Spirit from the Father." But they, with the Latins, claim that the Son proceeds immediately from the Father, while the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. We, with St. John of Damascus and all the Fathers, confess that the distinction between generation and procession is incomprehensible; but they,

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with Thomas Aquinas and the Latins, claim to distinguish these through mediation and immediation. We declare, with the Fathers, that the will and operation of the uncreated divine nature are also uncreated. But they, with the Latins and Thomas, assert that the divine will is identical to the essence, while the divine operation is created—whether they call it deity, divine and immaterial light, the Holy Spirit, or anything else of the sort. Thus, they worship a created deity, a created divine light, and a created Holy Spirit—an abominable blasphemy. We declare that the saints have not yet received the kingdom prepared for them, nor have sinners been cast into Gehenna, but both await their final lot after the resurrection and judgment. But they, with the Latins, assert that immediately after death, souls are either rewarded or punished according to their merits. For those who died in repentance but without full atonement, they invent purgatory as a fire distinct from the flames of Gehenna, claiming that through this, souls are purified after death and then enjoy the heavenly kingdom with the righteous. We reject the use of unleavened bread in obedience to the Apostolic Canons, but they, in their confession, affirm that what the Latins consecrate is truly the Body of Christ. We, contrary to the laws, commands, and decrees of the Fathers, affirm that the addition to the Creed is an innovation; but they declare it to have been done lawfully and reasonably. We regard the Pope as one among the patriarchs, provided he holds right belief; but they proclaim him as the vicar of Christ, the father and teacher of all Christians, with great solemnity. May they become happier than their father in all things except faith, for he has his own misfortunes, having an antipope to trouble him sufficiently; and they cannot bring themselves to imitate their father and teacher.

7. Flee, therefore, brothers, from them and their communion, for they are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ. And no wonder: for

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Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing, therefore, if his ministers transform themselves into ministers of righteousness, whose end will be according to their works. The same Apostle, speaking of such men in another place, says: "Such persons do not serve our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own appetites, and through smooth talk and flattery, they deceive the hearts of the innocent. But the firm foundation of faith stands, bearing this seal." And elsewhere: "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the mutilation." And again: "If anyone preaches to you a gospel contrary to what you received, even if it is an angel from heaven, let him be accursed." You see the prophetic nature of the statement, "even if it is an angel from heaven," so that no one may appeal to the prominence of the Pope. And the beloved disciple says: "If anyone comes to you and does not bring this teaching, do not receive him into your house, nor greet him. For whoever greets him shares in his wicked works." Since these things have been prescribed to you by the holy apostles, stand firm in the traditions which you have received, whether written or unwritten, lest, being led astray by the error of the wicked, you fall from your own steadfastness. May God, who is almighty, grant even to them the grace to recognize their error, and may He separate us from them as pure and chosen wheat from the evil tares, and gather us to be stored in His heavenly granary in Christ Jesus our Lord. To Him belong all glory, honor, and worship, together with His Father, who is without beginning, and His most holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

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LETTER OF MARK OF EPHESUS TO GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, IN WHICH HE REPROVES HIM FOR BELIEVING THAT SOME HARMONY COULD BE ESTABLISHED WITH THE LATINS.

1. Most illustrious, most wise, most learned, and most dearly desired brother and spiritual son, Lord George, I pray to God that you may be well both in soul and in body, and that all things may prosper for you. As for myself, through His mercy, I am doing reasonably well. How much joy you brought us when you declared the correct opinion and the pious doctrine of our fathers, defending the truth that was condemned by unjust judges! Yet we were filled with equal grief and sorrow when news reached us that you had once again changed your counsel, turning to the opposite side by fleeing to "the worst of stewards," seeking some middle paths and compromises. Is this a noble thing or worthy of a philosopher's spirit? Though I was already considering extolling your praises and meditating upon the great Gregory, surnamed "the Theologian," while recalling how he praised the illustrious philosopher Heron for resisting the errors of the Arians, saying, "With his whole noble body torn by whips, he was cast into exile." But you, having suffered no harm, being only, as I

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believe, frightened by threats or enticed by promises of honors or gifts, have rashly betrayed the truth once more. Who will give water to my head and fountains of tears to my eyes, that I may mourn for the daughter of Zion—the soul of a philosopher—shaken and tossed like dust from a summer threshing floor?

2. Perhaps you will claim that there has been no change to the opposite side, but rather that a middle way and a compromise are being sought. My friend, such "middle ways" have never reformed ecclesiastical matters for the better. There is no middle ground between truth and falsehood. Just as one who does not walk in the light must necessarily be in darkness, so also he who deviates even slightly from the truth may rightly be said to be covered by falsehood. While one may speak of an intermediate state between light and darkness—what we call dawn or twilight—no one has ever imagined, even in thought, any middle ground between truth and falsehood, no matter how much they labor at it. Hear how the eminent theologian Gregory praises a council eager for middle ways: "Whether it is the tower of Babel that beautifully divided tongues (would that it also divided those tongues united in evil!), or the council of Caiaphas, where Christ was condemned, or by whatever similar name this assembly should be called, which overturned and disrupted all things: for it abolished the pious and ancient doctrine of the Trinity, which should be equally honored, erecting barriers and preparing engines to shake the consubstantiality; and it opened the door to impiety through the ambiguity of written dogmas. For they were wise to do evil, but to do good they did not know." Do not these words fit our current synod? Indeed, in my judgment, the current synod, though burning with zeal for compromise and ambiguity, did not have the means to openly declare such blasphemy, as it was restrained by the financial control of those distributing funds. Therefore, it vomited forth its blasphemy plainly and openly as it pleased them. Or, as the

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prophet says, "They hatched asps' eggs and wove spiders' webs": for truly the web woven by them and called a definition is indeed a spider's web. Do not let them deceive us into seeking a middle way and ambiguity, for they are the council of Caiaphas until the union they pursue envelops the Church in darkness.

3. How long, O wretched man, will you divide your noble and upright soul with empty concerns? How long will you dwell on dreams? When will you dedicate yourself to the truth? Flee Egypt without looking back; flee Sodom and Gomorrah! Escape to the mountain, lest you be caught with the others. But are you held back by that vain little glory, false wealth, fine and splendid robes, and other things by which the happiness of this world is adorned? Alas for the mind of a philosopher devoid of philosophy! Consider those who came before you, who sought the same honors. Tomorrow, you too will descend into the grave, leaving all things on earth behind. You will be held to a strict account for all you have done, as will the pseudo-synod, which must give an account for the blood of perishing souls—those who were scandalized by the mystery of faith, those who took into their hearts the intolerable and unforgivable blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, and those who dared to attribute the existence of two principles to Him, who allowed themselves to be led astray by the illegitimate and ridiculous rites of the Latins, and who brought down curses and anathemas upon their own heads.

4. But will the union they have achieved be a protection and aid to our nation? Not at all. Behold, as it were, the enemies of the Cross put to flight, and a thousand driven away by one of us, and ten thousand routed by two! On the contrary, we see the opposite. Unless the Lord builds our empire, in vain do they labor who build it; unless the Lord guards our city, in vain do they watch who guard it with papal gold. So then, turn yourself entirely to God. Let the dead bury their own dead. Leave to Caesar what is Caesar's; give to God the soul

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He created and adorned. Consider in your mind how much you owe Him, and repay Him accordingly. Thus, I implore you, my most beloved and learned friend, act in such a way that I may rejoice because of you. Let me glorify God, who keeps you safe from every adverse event.

The humble Metropolitan of Ephesus and all Asia, Marcus

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**THE RESPONSE OF GEORGE SCHOLARIOS TO THE
LETTER OF MARK OF EPHEBUS.**

1. To the most venerable Metropolitan of Ephesus, most honorable Exarch of all Asia, to me in the Lord most divine and holy father and hero, most excellent and wise man, Gennadius, [while he was still a layman]. The letters of your holiness were also shown to us, after they had fallen from the hands of many; for he to whom they had been entrusted, since he neither wished to give them to me without informing others, nor to keep them himself (for what reason I do not know), although gravely admonished by you, brought it about that many of your sayings against me calmed down. But when some had sated their desires, because they held it as certain that you were still burning with zeal for the faith, and others indeed had mocked (as many as, of course, do not approve of you too much), then finally a friend came who returned them to me. Indeed, when I had first vehemently rebuked the, so to speak, guardian of the records for depriving me, among other things, even of letters written by your own hand, I received as much pleasure as I could from the given letters. For I had no doubt that they were the offspring of your mind, both because many affirmed that they had previously read them, with

which these entirely agreed, and because they admirably reflected your mind and zeal, as much as anyone can judge from afar, to omit another sign. This one fault I attributed to you, that, prone to believing all things, you thought those to be speaking the truth who fabricate worse things against us, although you had many things brought forth by us which you could oppose to rumors. Indeed, I was hoping that you would sharply rebuke those who rave such things out of ignorance and envy, because they have resolved to attack matters that are confessed, nor do they fear the most certain signs of falsehood, by whose aid unjust mouths are accustomed to impose judgment at an opportune time. For it is not right to say that truth is despised by us, to whom it has been a concern before all else, so that we who thoroughly know its utility and gain, either strive to deceive ourselves (we who have many aids both from nature and from art), and place every business in trust in God, against whom if anyone firmly rages, it cannot happen that he departs covered in shame.

2. I think it escapes no one that we, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the highest theology which exceeds the powers of many, have used no teacher of our age in learning these things, since the study of those things has long since been hindered by public calamities, and only a shadow of them remains among some, and those very few; but "as much as for watering the lips, but not for watering the palate," as someone says, since we had received [knowledge] from others, it happened by the aid of supernal grace, rewarding our diligence, that we became possessors of our desire and progressed further in the sciences. And now, although we know how much we excel others, it is nevertheless a delight for us to perform the duties of a student and we have proposed all those to be followed by us who are able to act as guides, and this we desire that all may be able, nor do we claim to be teachers of all, but we indeed implore from God the knowledge of truth for ourselves, since we greatly fear and

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dread errors very close to it, considering it a divine benefit to be freed from them. But if anyone approaches us for the sake of instruction, first excusing our ignorance with many words and advising him to entrust himself rather to another for instruction, we scarcely finally comply with him, if he insists and urges us, lest the increase and use of the talent with which we are perhaps endowed be demanded back from us. And so, since we are such, it is not permitted to fear that we will ever deviate from the straight path, nor is this to be placed in fear by us rather than by anyone else about himself. For the sound judgment which we once had we have never truly changed; but as regards the future, we conceive the greatest hope in God, that He will never permit us to be led into falsehood or error, and that we pay so bitter a penalty for our sins. But if some, both now and in times past, not rightly understanding our judgment, become distorted interpreters and judges of our words, whether from ignorance or from envy, I pardon the injuries, although I greatly grieve, beseeching the author of all good to infuse knowledge and virtue into the minds of the brethren.

3. Then a certain remedy for this evil was devised by me, although by no means noble, yet necessary. For as long as I shall have thought that the common way of living is to be observed by me, perhaps led by a certain indulgence and a grateful and courteous mind, not by a desire for glory or riches, as you have progressed so far as to slander, keeping other things indeed silent I guard them with myself, living a private life among private men, and fulfilling the best law of God and philosophy, by which it is not granted to just anyone to dispute and strive about divine and highest matters so that those who cannot be convinced might be convinced, about whom it is said in the proverb, "You will not persuade, even if you persuade." But I will take care to be of service to my people only in those matters which I shall know can be both sought and understood and grasped

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by them and about which they themselves have spontaneously entreated and asked me. For not only as a teacher of philosophy and theology, but also as a counselor, as a judge, as an orator in most serious matters, and all these with praise, as I attest before God, I am able to offer myself to them: which duties indeed cannot be excellently performed and exercised without philosophy, but by the aid of those it is fitting to benefit men unskilled in philosophy from the city and the nation. But when, after every impediment has been removed by God according to His mercy towards me, it shall have pleased me, to use your words, "to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and to remit to the dead the burial of the dead, with all hope placed in the Lord, then indeed, then truly free from any trouble whatsoever, attending to myself and recollecting the sins of my past life, I will strive to defend myself from evil in the future, if I shall be able with God's help, nor in any way strive either to heal another or to be healed by another, nor take care that I gather for myself any estimation and fame and those things which you recount among men. For not evidently that I might obtain greater honor and dignity and pride, or that I might be called "Rabbi," I will withdraw from the midst and change my garment, as if from a companionship of evils with an excuse not at all empty I would pass over to an insolence worthy of no pardon, and despising lesser things in appearance I would enjoy greater pleasures, or grudgingly concede them to others: for if these things were a concern to me, there is no sacred choir which would not have me as its leader, or not about to have me, if I should wish. But my plan is both to benefit the republic, without myself suffering grave damage, and not to dissolve the vows which I once uttered, and least of all to seek pride where I have once humbled myself: for it is exceedingly difficult that he who has obtained dignities and honors should think back on abjection, unless

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perhaps he is a man of most noble mind and of such a kind whom Aristotle calls heroic and plainly divine.

4. By proceeding on this path, I shall come to peace with all, which will bring it about that I shall contend in strife with no one. This I hope will also be pleasing to God himself, who claims the name of peace for himself. But truly, if ever there should be a need to contend and wrestle, and the rights of truth, if they should be silent, should fall into danger, and someone should be in peril if I should keep silent about them, and I should disgracefully lose the crowns to be gained from confession, and I should lay snares for my neighbors, then indeed I shall by no means sit quietly in idleness, but with an open face, filled with ardor and joy, I shall openly and freely speak the truth, so that neither for honor or gifts or any other such thing shall I abandon it, or, moved by threats, retreat, or cowardly flee, but standing my ground and defending true doctrines, I shall willingly endure whatever must be undergone. For if necessity urges it, it will be shameful to be silent and to speak will provide crowns. But truly, as long as there will be nothing of the kind, but as if in jest we should have spoken about divine things in matters by no means playful, for which each is moved by his own appetite, by no means weighing the things of God according to God, I judge silence to be the most excellent thing of all. Wherefore I greatly repent that I have hitherto said many things inopportunately, from which I well know that I have been a cause of offense to not a few, although not of utility to anyone, who, having obtained my discourses and each receiving them according to his own judgment, have thought that a certain double and diverse opinion about divine things is held by me, and have accused my mind of being easily swayed. And I know indeed that I shall render account of no such scandal, since it has happened not because I myself have spoken badly, but because they themselves have understood badly, and because they are not able to distinguish the

mean from the extreme right and the times of each, and they criticize those who know how to distinguish the same: wretched men, who thus rage against men subject to no reproach. For who is ignorant that many such things have been said and done both by the common teacher and legislator and by his disciples, whence it appears that no less right is present in those things which are done from accommodation, if we consider to what end the accommodation is made: for indeed he came to send a sword upon the earth, but for the sake of peace, the peace which he left to his disciples when he was about to depart from them in body. For what before seemed peace was truly war and discord and confusion.

5. And so I know what I have said, and I plainly trust that I have been the cause of no scandal at all to anyone; but I would have preferred to have been altogether silent, lest I be conscious to myself that I have provided, even if not the cause, at least not even the appearance of a cause. Therefore, do not fear where there is nothing to be feared, nor think that these things will be of great concern to me in the future: for I shall not try to lead anyone to the extremes or to the mean, because it is my purpose to live in quiet, without speaking about any such matters, unless it is absolutely necessary, not that I myself criticize any mean whatsoever, since I well know that true faith itself is placed by Saint Gregory as a mean between Judaism and paganism^o, namely between the rule of one and the abundance of many gods, and the opinions of Sabellius and Arius are said by the same to be evils diametrically opposed", just as extravagance and thrift, while the doctrine which obtains among the orthodox stands in the middle. And indeed anyone may perceive many means in divine things, which are praised by the learned and held in honor. For if between truth and falsehood, as you say, there is no middle ground, although the matter is exceedingly controversial and full of disputes among all skilled in these things, yet certainly if opinions, when there

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is talk of establishing truth, are false and opposed, it will be altogether necessary for the true opinion to define that which has been the mean and by that very fact true. Therefore, not that I flee the mean, but because I have determined that silence is to be observed by me, I embrace no mean. But truly, if ever I shall have perceived that there is a time to dissolve the law of silence, then indeed, then I shall surely bring forth openly those things which by long study and with God's help I have kept and hidden away, although I shall be troublesome to you, although to the Pope, although it may be necessary for me to suffer any inconveniences whatsoever.

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LETTER OF MARK OF EPHESUS TO GEORGE THE PRESBYTER OF METHONE AGAINST THE RITES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

1. Most honorable presbyter and brother most beloved to us in Christ, Lord George, I pray God that your holiness may be safe and in all things may fare excellently: by His mercy I myself am also quite well. Having received your letters, I was affected by intolerable grief, having been taught through them that those who Judaically offer the unleavened and dead sacrifice and sit in the shadow of the law dare to reproach and object to us the rites used by us in the holy Mass: the unhappy ones, as if blinded by pride, are ignorant that nothing is performed and done by us except that we have written proofs that in all things we follow the holy doctors and the ancient traditions of the apostles. For that divine and confessor Maximus, in the commentary on the holy Mass which is inscribed: "Of what things are the signs which are performed in the holy Church, while the divine synaxis is held," in the chapter whose title is: "Of what things are the symbols both of the prior holy synaxis's entrance and of those things which are after it," says these things expressly: "The prior entrance of the pontiff into the church, while the holy synaxis is celebrated, reason itself

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teaches that it refers to a likeness and image of that first advent by which the Son of God and our Savior Christ Jesus, having assumed flesh, entered into this world; by which freeing and redeeming the human race given over to corruption and spontaneously sold to death through sin and subjected to the tyrannical rule of the devil, every debt by which it was held having been dissolved, as if He were guilty of this, who was free from any guilt of sin, He again led it back to the original grace of the kingdom, where He himself had given himself as the price of redemption and exchange for us, and for our destructive passions He repaid his life-giving passion as a medicinal cure, by which the salvation of the whole world might be prepared. From which advent henceforth, his ascension into the heavens and the supercelestial throne and his return after exile, is symbolically figured by the entrance of the pontiff into the sanctuary and his ascent to the sacerdotal seat.”

2. And these things that holy man says about the first entrance. But about the second, which is also called greater, in the chapter which is inscribed: “What the entrance of the holy mysteries signifies,” he has these things: “But the entrance of the holy and venerable mysteries is the beginning and the origin of the future new doctrine in the heavens concerning God’s dispensation towards us, and the manifestation of the mystery of our salvation, which lies hidden in the innermost parts of divine concealment. For God the Word says to his disciples: ‘I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.’” 1 Do you hear in what manner the master calls the divine offerings even before the consecration holy and venerable mysteries? And rightly indeed. For someone is called a king before he is crowned as king, especially when he is already approaching to receive the crown, increased with attendants and honors; also the image of a king is called a king, and likewise it is honored and adored.

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In like manner the divine gifts, before they are transmuted, are said by us to refer to a type and image of the Lord's body and blood. Whence also the great Basil in the holy Mass calls them antitypes themselves. "Offering," he says, "the antitypes of the precious body and blood of your Christ." What therefore do we do ineptly, while we send forth and receive with honor those things which, already offered and given to God, have become both sacrifice and victim, and are offered to him himself to be consecrated by the advent of the Holy Spirit? But those who strain out a gnat but swallow a camel, perhaps will accuse us concerning the sacred images, because we adore them, since they are not the archetypes themselves, but examples of them. For that would be entirely worthy of their foolishness. And these things from whom? From those who overturn any ecclesiastical tradition, who in no way distinguish between sacred and profane. Where among them is the sanctuary, which is now called by us the sacred bema? Where among them is the sacred seat which the pontiff ascends? Let them read the words of the venerable Maximus, and let them be covered with shame; let them see who follow him and his words more, we or they? And yet that illuminator, contending for truth and right faith, traveled through the whole world, and spent a very long time in the western part, namely in Rome and in Africa, nor had he said anything other than what the whole Church held and all Christians. But these adulterators of the faith and innovators have also corrupted and changed ecclesiastical customs. Nor is it to be wondered at, since they have also adulterated nature itself, men appearing as women, the venerable adornment of the male form having been put aside. Wherefore while they celebrate Mass, they have women standing by (for they themselves seem similar to women), and very many laymen sitting wherever they please; but they themselves in washing the sacred chalice after communion throw the washing water onto the ground, indeed they do not fear to tread on

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the sacred table at their pleasure. So much do they know how to venerate their holy things! And yet they accuse us. O foolishness! O blindness!

3. You already have enough from those things which have been said by Maximus, most wise in divine matters, that the first entrance is a sign of the Lord's first advent into this world through the flesh; whence it happens that before it the songs of the prophets are sung, and afterwards the readings of the apostles and the Gospel are read. But the other entrance, namely the great one, signifies the other advent of the Lord, in which when he shall have come here again with glory to judge the living and the dead, he will receive the worthy ones with himself into the supercelestial region, to remain there perpetually with them, revealing more perfect and more divine things to the same according to the saying: "When I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God." Someone might also have said another reason, namely that the great entrance is a figure of the exequies of our Savior, in which, when he had given up his soul, having been carried to the sepulcher by Joseph and Nicodemus, he shortly afterwards rose again, and converted the whole world to his recognition. Similarly also in the Mass the sacred bread not yet consecrated and as if dead is carried, but shortly to be vivified by the virtue of the life-giving Spirit and to be changed into the life-giving body itself.

4. I have written these few things to you from many to touch upon their impudence. Know however that the definition of the false synod, or rather the vain novelty, was received by absolutely no one, as was entirely fitting, indeed truly those by whom it was issued and subscribed are held by all in hatred as execrable and betrayers of the truth, so that none of those who are here has hitherto concelebrated with them. But God who is all-powerful may lead these things to our benefit, and restore his Church, which he redeemed with his own

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blood, to its original form. “Guard the good deposit of faith,” utterly rejecting profane novelties.

Marcus of Ephesus.

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LETTER OF MARK OF EPHESUS TO THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Most holy lord and ecumenical patriarch, I trust in God that your excellent holiness is well and rejoices in bodily and visible health always in the Lord. I indeed, by God's mercy, am moderately well in body. We have received by report what has been done there, and it has grieved us not lightly; nevertheless, we give greatest thanks and impart greatest praises to the merciful God, because he has added courage to you in the present crisis, and we ask him again and again that you may become stronger day by day in dangers and unshaken, so that as many as emulate the orthodox faith may have you both as a harbor and a refuge and a citadel. And if indeed evils are driven away, all will consider you blessed and worthy of praise; but if God has permitted, for those judgments which he himself knows, that evils may worsen, you will become stronger from the endurance of pains and more experienced, like iron plunged into water, thus incited and sharpened by daily dangers.

For nothing so much conquers the vexer as the alacrity of the one enduring. Let us not be, I beg, more cowardly than those seven boys, I mean the Maccabees, who, having endured torments of every

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kind for merely swine's flesh, carried off the crown of the contest; but let us also say with them: "For what? Even if we do not die at this time, will we not die at all? Will we not perform the due gift of birth? Let us do gloriously what is necessary; let us learn to die; let us make our own what is common; let us purchase life by death. Let none of us be desirous of this life, let none be cowardly and timid. Let the tyrant despair of the rest, and let him be the first path to others, and the last seal of the contest." For unless there had been persecution, neither would the martyrs have shone forth, nor would the confessors have obtained the crown of victory from Christ, strengthening and cheering the catholic and orthodox Church with their rewards. For it is necessary also that there be heresies, according to the divine Apostle, that even those who are approved may be made manifest. But if we have understood this and thus contended, truly we ourselves shall also obtain the same rewards, and we shall be made heirs of the same glory, and we shall enter into the joy of the Lord, fearing nothing, dreading nothing, neither external enemies, nor those who dwell among us, pseudo-Christ's and enemies of the Spirit. And I pray that until our last breath we may profess with the greatest confidence the excellent deposit of the holy Fathers, that faith which we have drunk in with milk from our childhood, which we first proclaimed, with which I wish that we may finally depart, bringing this indeed, if nothing else, from here, right faith.

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LETTER OF BISHOP MARK OF EPHESUS TO THE MODERATOR OF THE MONASTERY OF VATOPEDI ON MOUNT ATHOS

1. Most religious hieromonk and provost of the venerable and sacred monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, I pray God that your excellent holiness may also be well in body for the consummation indeed and protection and benefit of the souls committed to you, but for our pleasure and joy. We also still live, God favoring, by the benefit of your holy prayers. Having undertaken a journey to you, I seemed to myself as if ascending into heaven itself, led by the hope of approaching men emulating the life of angels in bodies, men exhibiting supramundane wisdom in the world, men continually having the praises of God on their lips, and carrying with strenuous hands the two-edged swords, namely of contemplation and action, to ward off vices. But he who fell from heaven, that Lucifer, and who always envies us, prohibited us from the journey undertaken thither; nor is it at all to be wondered at that he prohibited us men, useless and possessing nothing good, since he afflicted the blessed Paul, the sun of the whole world, with the same loss. For often, he says, "I wanted to come to you, once and again, but Satan hindered

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us." If therefore he hindered him, it is also to be endured by us what was pleasing to God. Nevertheless, even now we contemplate you in hope, and we trust that by the benefit of your prayers we shall perhaps behold your most desired and dear faces, and perhaps even remain with you for all time, if it should thus please God. But if anything else should happen contrary to our will, it is fitting to give thanks to God even for that very thing: for we have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin. Much consolation has been to us from your brothers who are here, both the most honorable ecclesiarch and the great steward and the rest, whom we have had as living images of your charity and piety: for they have very often received us with hospitality and refreshed and restored us. May the Lord repay them worthy rewards for their labor and love.

2. But I beseech you through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all say the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you. So that you may safely guard our true ancestral faith as the best deposit, adding nothing, subtracting nothing: for neither have we had a deficient faith hitherto, nor did we need a synod or definition for learning new things, we who are both sons and disciples of the ecumenical synods and of those Fathers who were present in them or shone in subsequent times. This is our glory, our faith, the most excellent inheritance of our fathers. Instructed with this, we hope that we shall stand before God and obtain remission of admitted faults; but if we lack this, I know not by what justice we shall be able to be freed from eternal punishment. Whoever shall have tried to shake this from us, and to substitute another and newer one in its place, even if he should be an angel from heaven, let him be anathema; let him plainly perish from the memory both of God and of men. No one rules over our faith, neither emperor, nor pontiff, nor false synod, nor any other, except the one God, who himself through himself and through his disciples delivered it to us. I beg you, says the

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divine Apostle, "to observe those who cause dissensions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and turn away from them. For such do not serve our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by smooth words and blessings deceive the hearts of the innocent." But the firm foundation of faith stands, having this support.

3. Beware therefore, brothers, of the teachers and heralds of Latin novelty, but bound together by charity among yourselves, one body and one spirit, unanimous, thinking the same thing, come together into our one head, Christ: for it is not right again to quarrel immoderately with brothers on account of cold suspicions and to show rivalry which is not according to knowledge, lest we seem to fulfill a lust for contention and pugnacity under the pretext of faith. For right faith will profit no one without brotherly charity. But truly you possess both this and that and will possess them perpetually, venerable fathers and brothers, although I, out of the duty of love, have admonished you a few things, and endowed with these you will stand before the Lord, shining like the sun in the kingdom of our Father. Pray also for me, that I may lead the rest of my life according to God's will, so that I may be able, if I shall have preserved a good confession unshaken until the end, to obtain some place, even the lowest, in the company of those who have pleased God.

4. I send greetings to all my holy fathers and brothers individually, but especially and particularly to the most religious ex-provost and spiritual father Lord Gennadius, from whom I also especially ask that he intercede for my weakness in his holy supplications to God.

May your holy prayers be with me!

Marcus of Ephesus.

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LETTER OF MARK OF EPHESUS TO THEOPHANES THE PRIEST ON THE ISLAND OF EUBOEA.

1. Most religious hieromonk and spiritual father, and to me most beloved and most honored lord and brother in Christ, I pray God that your holiness may also be well in body: by whose holy prayers I myself also, by God's mercy, am quite well. You should know that, as soon as I returned to Constantinople, when one of those favoring the Latins who had subscribed had ascended to the patriarchal see, and was bringing trouble to me, I departed to my church, compelled by necessity. In which, since I likewise had no rest, but, seized by a grave illness, I was also harassed by many losses and inconveniences from the infidels, because I had not received a mandate from the prince, I also departed thence with the purpose of betaking myself to Mount Athos. And so, having crossed the strait to Gallipoli, while I was passing through Lemnos, I was apprehended there by order of the emperor and confined in custody. But the word of God and the power of truth are by no means conquered, but rather are carried with an abundant and prosperous course. For very many brothers, incited by my exile, assail those wicked men and violators of sound faith and ancestral customs with all reproaches, and drive them

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away from everywhere as if they were refuse, plainly not enduring to have sacred matters with them, or to recite their names as Christians from the diptychs.

2. I have also learned that a certain little servant of Monemvasia has been ordained as metropolitan of Athens by the followers of the Latins, who, residing there, performs sacred rites promiscuously with the Latins and illicitly ordains whomever he finds, of whatever sort. Wherefore I beg your holiness, that, inflamed with zeal for God, as befits both a man of God and a friend of truth and a genuine disciple of Saint Isidore, you urge the priests of God to flee his communion plainly and entirely, not to perform sacred rites with him, nor in any way to make commemoration of him, holding him not as a bishop, but as a wolf and a hireling; but let them themselves by no means perform sacred rites in the temples of the Latins, lest the wrath of God, which has broken out upon Constantinople on account of the wicked deeds which are perpetrated there, turn also upon you.

3. Likewise, understand that that false union is now in such a state that, by the favor and power of God, it is being completely dissolved, and that the doctrine of the Latins has not only not become firmer through the pseudo-synod, to which they have always devoted their efforts, but is even more vehemently refuted and convicted, so that it is everywhere condemned as blasphemous and impious, so that even those who confirmed it do not dare to open their mouths to defend it. For indeed that patron of your hireling, not pastor, that foolish man of Monemvasia, having obtained the prefecture of Prodromus from the emperor, is not even commemorated, while sacred rites are performed, by his own monks, nor is he in any way incensed with incense like the other faithful, but they have commerce with him only in expediting business matters, as if he were a mere consul. The emperor, having been made certain of this matter, says

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nothing, indeed openly confesses that he regrets the deed, casting the blame upon those who subjected themselves and subscribed. Beware therefore yourselves, brothers, lest you communicate with the excommunicated, or commemorate men by no means to be commemorated. Behold, I Mark the sinner signify this to you, that he who has been accustomed to recite the name of the Pope as an orthodox pontiff is of such a kind that he adopts all the rites of the Latins, even to the very shaving of the beard, and he who has sided with the Latins will plainly be condemned with the Latins and held as a deserter of the faith.

May your holy prayers be with us.

To the excellent prince Lord Constantine Contopetrus
and to all the other nobles who received us with hospitality,
many greetings and divine benediction.

Mark of Ephesus. June 16th.

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LETTER OF MARK OF EPHESUS TO THEOPHANES THE MONK ON THE ISLAND OF IMBROS.

1. Most religious hieromonk, and to me most beloved and most honored father and brother in the Lord, I pray God that your holiness may be well even in body, by whose holy prayers I myself also, by God's mercy, am moderately well. Having received the letters of your holiness, I had no small comfort in such great troubles by which we are oppressed, because men increased in honor and rank beyond merit by the Church of God have afflicted it with insult and disgrace, by associating to it companions cut off and rotten for many centuries and liable to six hundred anathemas, and by polluting the spotless bride of Christ with commerce with them. For, just as if past things were not enough for confirming the novelty which they have perpetrated, they have chosen for themselves a patron, or rather a hireling, not a shepherd, a wolf, not a shepherd, whom they can manage and bear as they please, and by his help they think that they will instill the most wicked dogma of the Latins into the minds of all; and perhaps they will stir up persecution against those who fear God, since they can in no way be led to assent to their communion.

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2. While our affair was in this state, the letters of your holiness were returned, which instill much comfort by the sincerity of your will, the integrity and candor of your mind, and the communion of sentiment, refreshing our dejected mind. For now the contest is not about words, but about things; nor is it a time for collecting sayings and arguments (for to what purpose, since the judges are so corrupt?); but those who love God must strongly resist by the works themselves, prepared to undergo any danger for the right faith, lest they be defiled by the company of the impious. Wherefore I did not think that even the Syntagma of your holiness was useful to deliver to the emperor, nor plainly without danger, since it can help to nothing else in the present state of affairs except to move laughter and mockery of those who appear wisely unwise and are rashly driven by a disordered and dark spirit. For now on account of our sins that saying has been fulfilled: "I will give children to be their princes, and the effeminate shall rule over them." And I pray that He who alone can do all things may wish to restore his Church, and to calm the present storm, appeased by your prayers, which may always be with us.

Mark of Ephesus and of all Asia.

To the most religious hieromonk and to me most
Beloved and most venerable father and brother Lord Theophanes.

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THE DYING PRAYER OF MARK OF EPHESUS TO A GATHERING OF FRIENDS, AND SPECIFICALLY TO GEORGE SCHOLARIUS.

A

The words of our holy father Mark, Archbishop of Ephesus, which he pronounced before many bishops, presbyters, monks, laymen, on the day he migrated to God, and which the most honorable and wise hieromonk committed to memory and writing.

I wish to explain more fully what I think, and now especially, while my death is imminent, so that I may be consistent with myself from the beginning to the end, and may not appear to some to have said one thing and hidden another in my heart, which it is necessary to reveal at this hour of my resolution. Therefore, I wish the patriarch to be warned, lest perhaps under the guise of bestowing honor on me at the funeral of this worthless body of mine or for sacred rites to be performed in my memory he should decide to send any of his bishops or his clerics or anyone else of those who communicate with him, to offer prayers or perform sacred rites together with the priests of our party to be invited for these things, with the persuasion that I, in

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whatever way finally, even secretly, admit his communion. But lest my silence should provide an occasion for suspecting some compromise to those who do not fully and thoroughly know my purpose, I say and attest before many most honorable men present here, that I neither approve nor accept his communion or that of his followers in absolutely no way, neither while I am living, nor after death, neither the union that has been perpetrated nor the dogmas of the Latins, which he and his supporters have accepted, and by defending which he has acquired this dignity for himself to destroy the sound dogmas of the Church. For I most certainly hold that the further I am separated from him and men of such kind, the closer I approach God and all the saints; and insofar as I am divided from them, to that extent I am united to the truth and the holy Fathers, the teachers of the Church: so I likewise hold it as certain that their followers are very far distant from the truth and the blessed doctors of the Church. And therefore I say this to you, that as my whole life I have been separated from them, so also at the time of my departure, indeed after my death I abominate their communion and fellowship, and I prescribe by oath that none of them should approach my funeral or the annual sacred rites either of myself or of anyone else of those who adhere to us, to attempt to put on sacred vestments with ours and perform divine service. For this would be to mix those things which cannot be mixed. For it is necessary that they remain entirely separated from us, until God shall have granted the best reformation and peace to his Church.

B

Then, when he had turned himself to the prince Scholarius, he said: There are certain habits among philosophers, about which, although they have now fallen from my memory, I shall nevertheless

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say a little, that there are indeed habits to be adapted to proposed arguments, among which is also held the reason of the contingent, likewise also the reason of the more contingent, which indeed the more contingent is almost the same as the necessary. This agrees greatly with the argument of this speech. And so this is my opinion about Lord Scholarius.

I have known him from his earliest age, and I pursue and love him with affection and love as my son and friend and whatever else one may devise for conciliating friendship and charity. Having conversed familiarly with him up to this point in time, I have most clearly perceived with how much prudence and wisdom he is powerful, with how much faculty of speaking. Wherefore I do not doubt at all that he alone, of those who remain at this time, is able to extend a helping hand to the right faith, which is tossed by the fury of those who have corrupted the sincerity of the divine dogmas, so that the Church may be reformed, with God helping, and the orthodox faith may be strengthened, provided that he himself is willing not to fail the work, nor to hide his lamp under a bushel. Indeed, I do not trust that he will be so affected, nor that he will so fail his own conscience, that seeing the Church snatched away by a storm and the faith leaning on a weak man (I speak in human fashion), and knowing that he has what he may offer for its aid, he should not undertake the defense with all zeal and great alacrity of mind. For he is plainly not ignorant, wise man as he is, that the subversion of the catholic faith is the ruin of all of us. And in past times indeed, when perhaps he thought that those things were sufficient which were done by certain others, and especially by us, for its defense, he did not seem to openly defend the truth, perhaps hindered by certain counsels or men. But I formerly contributed either nothing or very little indeed to the defense of the faith, since neither strength nor zeal was sufficient, as the matter demanded; but now I utterly perish: but what is less

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valuable than what is nothing? If therefore he thought it superfluous to perform by himself what could be performed by others, because he had judged that we could effect something in this business, lest damage should arise from it for other reasons compared to the very small gain, as he has often related the matter to me and asked for pardon: but now, since I must depart from here, nor do I see anyone else who in the Church, in the faith, in defending the dogmas of true religion can perform my parts just as he, therefore I ask him, since time not only invites but also urges, to reveal the hidden spark of piety in himself, and to defend the Church and its sound doctrines, so that what I myself could not accomplish, he may bring to an end with God's help. For he is able to do this with God favoring, on account of the innate prudence and faculty of speaking with which he is powerful, provided that he wishes to use them opportunely. And although indeed he has this duty to God, to the faith, to the Church, that he should contend faithfully and sincerely for the faith: nevertheless, I myself commit such a duty to him, that he may be in my place a defender of the Church and an interpreter of sound doctrine and a champion of orthodox dogmas and of the truth, trusting in the help of God and in the truth itself, for which contests must be undergone, so that he may offer himself as a companion in waging them to the holy doctors and God-bearing Fathers, those excellent theologians, and may expect rewards from the just judge, by whom whoever have contended for piety will be declared victors: likewise he ought to strive with all his strength to establish the right dogmas of the Church as if he were about to render an account in the hour of judgment both to God and to me, who commit this duty to him, relying on the good hope that these my words will yield more than a hundredfold fruit, since I have cast them into the best soil. I would wish him to respond to these things himself, so that departing from this life I may have full certainty, and may not breathe out my

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spirit with weariness, because I have utterly despaired of the Church being reformed.

C

The Response of Lord Scholarius. I, my holy lord, first indeed give great thanks to your great holiness for the praises which you have bestowed upon me, while, in drawing me to you, you have ascribed to me gifts which I by no means have, nor do I certainly know to be in me. This indeed the supreme goodness and virtue and great wisdom of your great holiness has effected, which I myself have well known from the beginning and have not ceased up to this day greatly to admire, deferring to your great holiness whatever is owed both to a father and to a teacher and to an instructor, using your judgment as a rule both of accurate doctrine and of most correct speech, myself consenting to those things which were approved by you, but rejecting without hesitation whatever was not from the judgment of your mind; and I have never refused to fulfill the parts of both a son and a disciple towards your great holiness.

Of which matter I adduce your great holiness itself as a witness. For you know that I have never approached you not thus affected towards you, and while I was revealing the innermost counsels of my mind, I have given such assurances to you. But if at any time I did not openly approach those battles which your greatest holiness was waging, but passed them over in silence, no one knows better than your great holiness why I conducted myself thus, since when I had very often entrusted my innermost feelings to you, and had purified myself, I did not fall from pardon.

But now, with God's help, I have now despised all these things, and I have constituted myself a most sincere and open defender of the truth, so that, remitting nothing of the dogmas of my

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fathers and of the truth of the orthodox faith, I may preach according to the purpose of your greatest holiness. But I do not confess these things because I see your great holiness departing from here: for neither have we laid aside all hope, indeed, relying on God, we trust that you, convalescing from this illness, will still be with us and will execute all these things together. But if by the hidden judgments which God knows you shall have migrated hence to the place of rest which he himself has prepared for you, and on account of our plain unworthiness you shall have sought the seat which you are worthy of, I significantly reveal to you before God and the holy angels, who now invisibly assist us, and to those many and most illustrious men who stand here, that I will be in your place in the present matter and, as if with your own mouth, will embrace and defend whatever you were embracing and teaching, and I will propose it with all zeal, in no way diminishing any of them, but contending for them even to the utmost perils of blood and death. And although my use and strength in these matters is exceedingly small, I nevertheless trust that your great holiness will supply what is lacking to me, you surviving by your exceptional experience in such matters, but you being released by fate, by your most acceptable supplications to God.

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BOOK OF MANUEL THE GREAT RHETORICIAN CONCERNING MARK OF EPHESUS AND CONCERNING THE THINGS DONE IN THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE.

1. Since among other things which were related in your letter to us, you also asked me in writing, best of friends, that I briefly explain to you the things done by the blessed Mark, who adorned the episcopal see of Ephesus, whence indeed he had his origin and how he conducted himself in the eighth synod coerced among the Italians, with whom disputants he joined himself during that time, whether indeed he seems to have disputed according to the accurate mind of the holy theologians, who persistently dissenting from him were, on account of their own cunning, also the authors of deflecting others from the equal and right way: come now, to fulfill this your desire, I shall attempt to say these things briefly indeed, as far as it will be possible, so that you may have readily what you may read as an example of exceptional virtue and a document of our sincere friendship towards you.

2. Therefore, this most holy Mark was a son and alumnus of the royal city itself. From his very first hair, so to speak, he was

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dedicated by his parents to learning common disciplines; which when he had traversed in a short time like a bird, he surpassed all his fellow students and contemporaries. Then, having been admitted to the sacred order of the Great Church, with blessing and sacred prayer imparted by the most holy among the patriarchs and that most wise Euthymius, he placed all his study in the divinely inspired scriptures; and soon, having assumed the monastic habit in the sacred and great monastery of Mangana, he devoted himself entirely to the solitary life. He so contained himself in the monastery and his own cell for the sake of preserving solitude, that he did not grant the power of seeing him even to relatives and friends and those connected to him by kinship, but he devoted one labor night and day to perpetual meditation on the divine letters, whence he acquired for himself that sea of opinions which his published works testify to. Finally, his neck having been subjected to the divine yoke of the priesthood, and not long after having been constituted bishop of the Ephesians by the great and most holy Church, unwilling indeed, but at the requests of many friends, he thenceforth amplified and increased as much as he could a greater arena for cultivating virtue.

3. But while he in this way was receiving greater divine increases day by day, he who at that time held the Roman scepter (he was the emperor John of good memory, who was the sixth in order from the Palaeologus family), seeing the Agarene race progressing more widely day by day, but ours constricted from all sides and reduced to utter extermination, so to speak, and therefore fearing lest the very prince of cities should be reduced to dominion with the Roman empire's boundaries gradually being devastated, just as indeed at another time, alas! it happened, he deemed it right to join to himself as allies in war those who were in Italy. But he could not safely accomplish this unless, with a council having been coerced, he should take care with all his strength either to compose or in some way to

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remove from the midst those heads of our theology contrary to which they had inserted into the orthodox dogmas with a zeal for novelty. But these were, both that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and that essence in God is the same as operation: which things, unless they were clarified synodically and expressly, so to speak, he judged that neither people would agree to one way of rightly thinking, nor on account of this would they bear mutual aid among themselves. When this counsel, in appearance indeed excellent, had been proposed to himself by that most religious Christ-worshipping emperor, pressed by necessity, he sent a legation to the Roman pontiff for the sake of handling the matter. He, when he had received it courteously indeed, greatly rejoicing concerning the proposal, in turn asked through his legates that a council for composing the matters should be held at Florence, which also was done. For the emperor, having assumed some chosen and learned men around himself, also summoned the blessed Mark whom we mentioned above, and when he arrived there and the synod was coerced, he constituted him its exarch, as was fitting; for with six men designated from each side who should hold discourse, Mark was ordered to lead our men, among whom both Bessarion, that prelate of Nicaea, and Gemistus, men indeed intent on God and corrupted in many ways, were present with other shifty men or traffickers in divine matters. These men were not only deceitful heretics (from which it happened that they turned their backs to the adversaries and at that very time solicited their supporters to betray the truth by promising honors and rewards), but they were also most open impious men, carrying around in their minds the ancient abomination of the Greeks concerning gods, or rather demons, just as their plainly most wicked books sufficiently demonstrate, which they left behind to pervert and offend simpler men.

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4. Furthermore, since we have briefly mentioned their names, so that their impiety and wickedness may be plainly and sufficiently manifest to all, I shall relate in this place their own bare words; then indeed I shall show, as in a summary, the reproach and disgrace which is gathered thence, so that with the filth of their minds now placed before the eyes of all, no one may undertake to read through these impious writings of theirs, and all may know how great a vice arrogance is, by which some, trusting in themselves and not safely following the divine fathers, have been snatched into the precipice of impiety and madness. Thus indeed the things which one of them, I say Bessarion the cardinal, wrote to Gemistus, that most wicked man, seeking solutions of certain difficulties concerning those who, as they indeed judge, produce themselves, namely gods, concerning whom, in discoursing, he thought that his teachers and authors of his own utter ruin differed from the common opinion, by which it is established that all things have been effected by one author, namely God. But it is established among us and all rightly thinking according to divine and human wisdom, who indeed confess the truth with a sincere conscience, that this man by no means imputed the error of worshipping many gods to those men whom he enumerates in this place, while he proposes these doubts to his supporter Gemistus (for who would have done this, since he well knew that he was of the same opinion as he?); but he questions their theology through simulation as an enigma astonishing him and with a very willing mind desiring to be most firmly instructed concerning it, and not, so to speak, to stammer. Indeed, from other impious words of the same man it plainly appears that he was firm and fixed in such a most wicked error, by which a multitude of gods is asserted, and with God the living God having been spontaneously and voluntarily abjured, one indeed in nature, but threefold in hypostases and properties, he has lapsed into that dark and outer fire of Gehenna, with the error by no means

having been abandoned. Wherefore our oration, while it pursues Bessarion and Gemistus his follower, aptly glides down also into them and into the false persuasion of a multitude of gods, and vice versa: for these men labored with the same impiety as those men, and those men as these men. But such words must now be related by us, and the perverse and most God-hostile judgment which they exhibit must be refuted.

5. "Since therefore," he says, "one opinion has prevailed among all and that most certain, that nothing exists anywhere which does not have a cause, we nevertheless find not a few followers of Plato, such as Proclus and Hermias and Damascius, who think that both the soul and all gods prior to it in time, whether intelligible, or both intelligible and intelligent at the same time, or intelligent, subsist through themselves; but someone might say that not even Porphyry and Iamblichus and Syrianus think otherwise concerning such and so grave a question, since he discovers that those whom we have mentioned frequently use their opinions and for the most part assent to their opinions. Wherefore with one consent, as it were, of those men whom we have mentioned, they pronounce that entities of such a kind subsist through themselves, and indeed subsist through themselves in such a way that they constitute themselves and produce themselves, and that all things are at the same time both caused and causes."

6. From these words he begins the writing, from which it is understood how fervent in those men is the man's faith, or to speak more truly, aberration, with which he both enumerates them and expounds their and his own tenets or trifles. But let these be as a fringe, by which, as is accustomed to be done, the whole most impure texture is revealed. These things indeed anyone will reject as impious fabrications, especially since the conclusion which is inferred thence has been badly deduced, which, as in a man professing philosophy,

seems utterly incongruous. But vain glory, says John Chrysostom, everywhere strikes against itself. For who, if he knowingly establishes an argument with the worship of God safe, would judge some being to be so subsisting through itself that it constitutes itself and proceeds into being through itself from nothing; or, what is the same, draws itself from potentiality into actuality? We do not say that this even falls to the cause itself of all things, namely God of all things, from whom all things have been produced from non-being into being. For that which leads itself from potentiality into actuality, there was certainly a time when it was not; but whatever is later in time, how is it eternal? And what is not eternal, how is it God? Indeed, Aristotle, in book Lambda of the *Metaphysics*, shows this very thing, while he asserts that the most excellent first mind, namely God, is pure actuality and entirely devoid of potentiality. "For it is possible," he says, "not to operate, which has potentiality; nor likewise if it will indeed operate, but its substance is potentiality: for there will not be perpetual motion. For what is potential, it is possible for it not to be. Therefore, it is necessary that there be such a principle whose substance is actuality." For since he wished to demonstrate that God is both devoid of a principle and eternal, and does not obtain existence from himself, compelled by the force and necessity of the argument, he declares him both pure actuality and that his very existence is actuality, driving far from him whatever of potentiality there is according to the double signification of this word.

Wherefore, as is consequent, he asserts the same to be entirely immobile. For whence would he be moved? For if indeed he were moved, he would be moved from potentiality into actuality. But since he is indeed pure actuality, he remains utterly immobile according to substance, moving indeed all other things by ineffable power and changing them according to his will, as he who has created all beings both intelligible and sensible. Wherefore he defines the

same: a living eternal best. And indeed life is, he says, since eternal life is the most excellent act of the mind. Finally, bringing forward a general conclusion, he subjoins: Therefore, that there is some eternal and immobile substance, and likewise distinct from sensible things, is clear; and that it is impassible and immutable; one, not many: "for it is not good," he says with Homer, "a multitude of rulers; let there be one ruler." As if he had said: One is the principle of things and one God.

7. "For what is sufficiently done with one being posited," as a certain other theologian says, "it is better to be done through one than through many. But the order of things is as it can be best; for the power of the first agent does not lack the power which is in things for perfection. But all things are sufficiently completed by being led back to one first principle. Therefore, it is not to posit more principles or more gods."

"Furthermore." "If there are two, each of which it is necessary to be, it is necessary that they agree in the intention of necessary being: therefore it is necessary that they be distinguished by something which is added, either to only one, or to both. And thus it is necessary either that one, or both, be composite. But nothing composite is necessary to be through itself. Therefore, it is impossible that there be more, each of which it is necessary to be; and thus more gods."

"Moreover." "If there are more gods, it is necessary that the nature of divinity is not one in number in each: therefore it is necessary that there be something distinguishing the divine nature in this and in that. But this is impossible, because the divine nature does not receive addition nor any difference. Nor is the divine nature the form of some matter, so that it can be divided according to the division of matter. Therefore, it is impossible that there be more gods." For if there were more gods, since they themselves would attribute

essence to themselves and they themselves would produce themselves and they themselves would be the cause of themselves, there would also be held more principalities. But everything which has more principles is by its nature seditious and turbulent and stirs up the dissolution of everything. For for this reason Jupiter himself, according to Homer, with ambushes having been built by the other gods, was about to be prostrated and cast into bonds, unless, having been more quickly informed by Thetis concerning the conspiracy having been begun, he had appointed Aegeon as his guard. Indeed, if the Greeks in their doctrine concerning the gods had established the rule of one, such sedition and confusion would not have had a place among them nor fabulous garrulity. Wherefore the same Homer, having spurned the rule of many, "it is not good," he says, "the rule of many: let there be one ruler." Which words Aristotle, as befits a philosopher, having borrowed, in handing down his theology, rejected polyarchy and approved monarchy, with this same verse having been employed.

8. But although Aristotle was a manifest pagan, nevertheless he seems to have touched upon the truth selectively in some things, even if he falsely judges essence and operation to be the same in God. For we both rightly think and declare essence to be one thing, but operation to be another: for that which is had is asserted to be distinguished from that which has, the truly divine and most wise theologians assert. But, however that is, he is discovered to have touched upon the truth somewhat in most things; but truly Bessarion and Gemistus, even after the law of grace having been given, which they participated in simulatedly, and the flower of divinely given truth having been emitted from it, plainly remained foolish, as it is said in the proverb: He who is not able to see through a sieve is blind. For having feigned the profession of Christians both in acting and in speaking and afflicting the Spirit of grace with contumely, with

Proclus, who was a leader to them for perdition, they generate, fashion, profess many gods subsisting through themselves: and this since nothing in the nature of things can either somewhat or simply subsist through itself, as has been demonstrated. For there is no thing which does not have a cause, nor those, as we say, intelligent powers, which since they are secondary splendors, have been produced from the first and principle-less light and participate in the very entity before other created things, nor anything else of those things which are liable to generation and corruption. Thus vapors, when the earth has been moistened and warmed by the sun, insofar as more or less heat and dryness and humidity are carried around promiscuously up to that place where the reflection of the solar ray now ceases, because the heat is weakened there and the cold prevails, are necessarily dissolved: and accordingly from the heat, if it becomes more fervent, lightnings are born, if less, winds; from the humid indeed, clouds; and from the clouds, rains. Likewise, a species from a seed, but this from a generating one which is complete in actuality. And thus proceeding from one to another in this way you will by no means stop until you have arrived at the first principle and cause, namely at the very being, God.

9. Therefore, it is clear that there is no being which so subsists through itself that it obtains generation from itself, neither among purely intelligible beings, nor among purely sensible beings, nor among those which are in the middle. For even if, about to define a composite substance, we say that it is a thing subsisting through itself which does not need another for subsisting, nevertheless, while we say this, we by no means think that it attributes existence to itself through itself, so that one and the same thing is at the same time both cause and caused, like those gods posited by Gemistus and Bessarion. For it would be ridiculous and quite foolish if what in no way naturally falls to that immaterial substance and plainly void of any materiality and

in no way composite, which understands itself as if circularly by a certain most simple intelligence, that very thing should agree with a composite and material substance, which indeed it is plainly established is temporal, as having received both existence and composition from another, namely from the cause of all things. Therefore, we neither think nor say this, but that it does not need the hand by which it was produced to be continually present: for when the efficient cause has once been satisfied and fully enjoyed, it suffices for itself both for its own existence and for accidental existence. Therefore, nothing in things so subsists through itself that it receives generation from itself; but we say that substances subsist through themselves in the way which we have explained, not because they were not produced by another, but because, having been created by the first cause, they are now from themselves equal to existing.

10. Nor is it less ridiculous, what they fashion for themselves, that gods are liable to corruption and plainly finite. For if they are many and become increased in multitude, they will also certainly be finite. For infinity cannot be considered except in the one author alone of all things, to whom also immutability is attributed and all-round incomposition, and also immateriality and simplicity and omnipotence, and all other things which, as certain perfections, are essentially inherent in him as a truly most absolute and one only supremely good being, in whom they coalesce in an incomprehensible and singular way according to a certain ineffable and inexplicable excellence. For among those beings which have been created by him, one is more powerful than another to that extent, so to speak, and more perfect and more remote from matter and more infinite, insofar as each is able to participate in him; but if they are compared with him, all are equally imperfect and empty of substance, since he is infinitely removed from all in infinite ways according to the initiatory principle of theological science. Therefore, since those whom they

posit are many gods, it is plainly necessary that these be finite, likewise also corruptible, as indeed they judge, as having been generated. For if they subsist through themselves, they are also certainly generated, and therefore liable to corruption: for these, as is their opinion, themselves produce themselves into being when they were not, although Proclus their patron, in chapter XLV of his Theological Institutes, as if arguing absurdly and madly both thinks and says, wrongly pronouncing: "Everything which is subsisting through itself is devoid of generation." But he utters these things not without arrogance, as if he were speaking and writing to men lacking mind. Thus indeed any empty boaster is accustomed to pass over his own lapses, with his mind blinded by a drunken fury: on the contrary, he who is humble by his nature, whose virtues and glorious deeds are illuminated by divine grace. Therefore, since that is said to be subsisting through itself which produces itself from itself according to such an abnormal philosopher in all things; but that which is produced is nothing other than what is made, by what way finally will that which is made be devoid of generation? But if what is made has been generated, it is necessary that that itself be corruptible. Wherefore it is plainly established that the gods posited by Bessarion and Gemistus are both corruptible and do not subsist through themselves, both from the common and well-deduced judgment of the faithful and from the very syllogisms or rather paralogisms of their famous patron. Indeed, this learned and hidden patron of theirs has fallen into this absurdity, lest perhaps he should say that what subsists through itself is imperfect; but he did not notice this, that he who says these things plainly diminishes the power of the first cause of all things, as if it were not suitable for effecting some perfect things, when they were nowhere at all, that they might be."

11. Moreover, that they think that each of those whom they consider gods is at the same time both cause and caused, is most

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ridiculous and in no way philosophical. For a cause must be prior to its caused either in time or in reason; but how can it happen that prior and posterior coincide at the same time in one and the same thing? And by what pact will some thing, since it is one and the same and not truly different from itself according to substance, be able to be both itself through itself and another? For it is established that the caused and the cause are truly another and another, unless we rave after the manner of drunkards. This is clearly evinced even from the very notion of those things which are related, to which both cause and caused are referred as to their species. For those are said to be related, as many as those very things which are, are said to be of others or are referred to another in any other way: for a genus is also accustomed to be predicated univocally of its species. But if we in our reason of discoursing or speaking about God say that the Father is the cause of the Son and the Spirit, who are from him as caused; nevertheless, we say one and another cause of one and another of the caused in one nature and substance: since we say one and another hypostasis, not however one and another thing. "For the word 'another,'" as the philosopher and equally theologian Gregory says, "is accustomed to be used of those whose substance is the same."

Indeed, we say that God first and through himself understands himself, not however that he produces himself or is the cause of himself. For since the thing understood is the perfection of the one understanding, there will be nothing else primarily understood by God besides himself, because nothing at all exists more noble and perfect than him. But if it were otherwise, since intellectual operation has species and nobility according to that which is primarily understood, the intellectual operation of God would have species and nobility according to that which is other than him: but this is impossible. Therefore, there is nothing which is understood by God first and through himself other than himself. Therefore, we say

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that he understands himself, not however that he is the cause of himself. Therefore, no thing, if it is one and the same, can be caused and cause, nor in any way subsist through itself, as has already been demonstrated, as if it itself gave existence and substance to itself, not even the maker of all intelligible and sensible things and our God. For again that truly philosophical and theological voice says in the oration *On the Dogma and Constitution of Bishops*: "Therefore, the Father is devoid of a principle: for neither from elsewhere, nor from himself does he have being. But the Son, if indeed you accept the Father as cause, by no means lacks a principle; for the principle of the Son is the Father, as cause; but if you have understood a principle concerning time, he is also devoid of every principle: for neither is the Lord of times subjected to time."

But the golden orator John in the first of his *On the Incomprehensible homilies*: "For that God," he says, "is everywhere, I know, and that he is whole indeed everywhere; for he is devoid of partition. But by what pact, I do not know: for reason is not able to attain this. For how can that substance be known, which has being neither from itself nor from another?" Therefore, God is not something subsisting through itself. But if God is not something subsisting through itself, it is certainly far from the case that anything else of beings is something of such a kind, since all things have been produced from non-being into being by him. Nay rather, we do not even precisely say that God suffices for himself for subsisting. For that which suffices for itself from itself, that alone is sufficient; but whatever is sufficient for itself, that does not have what it communicates. But God is not sufficient for himself, but super-sufficient; nor full, but super-full, and all rivers of goodness flow forth from him. Similarly, if you consider the matter accurately, you would properly say that God is not something eternal, but pre-eternal; then eternity is had; finally that which is everlasting. For that is said to be

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everlasting which participates in eternity; but any thing participating is certainly inferior to the thing participated in. Therefore, by how much that which is sufficient for itself precedes, by so much also it surpasses that which subsists through itself.

12. But I judge that what has been said thus far is sufficient for most clearly proving that those gods established by Bessarion and Gemistus lack any foundation, both for showing what was the impiety of both: for with a feigned Christian profession indeed, one of them devoured the money of the Italians, having obtained great esteem in those parts, with deceitful and ridiculous books written and published concerning dogmatic matters; but the other indeed enjoyed grace plainly undeservedly with that most happy and most religious among princes Theodore, that most celebrated man. Indeed, we would not have employed such as if shadowed refutations against them, especially in this age, in which almost no one exists who accurately perceives such things or, burning with divine zeal, survives for vindicating the truth, since with most the charity of divine things has grown cold, as Scripture says, and has utterly withered; nor indeed to show off our art in writing, as the Lord knows, namely the very Wisdom itself; nor also, lest perhaps someone should think that we are grieving over the false excellence of their erudition and subtlety: for we are not, God favoring, those men, nor do we so fall in spirit. Let those envy them who, having been made participants in their impiety and error, nevertheless are most far distant from their skill in composing words. And so not because we are moved by any of these reasons, but because we bear with difficulty their most open impiety and negation of God, which indeed conceived in minds and mouth they have studiously poured forth in writing to plainly deceive simpler men, as we said even from the beginning of the work, moved by fervent zeal for the faith we have used such words and responses against them. Wherefore if anyone is incensed by these our words

against them, he, as it seems, having feigned the Christian religion and name, is involved in the same error and impiety as they.

13. But indeed the words also of that most wicked Gemistus must be related by us in this place as if incidentally, and it must be seen in what way he responds in letters rewritten to Bessarion, the companion of his defection. "Indeed, it must by no means be thought," he says, "that those men whom you enumerate agree among themselves in all things. Certainly, they agree among themselves in most and principal chapters; there are nevertheless things in which they dissent. For example, whom Plato makes the nearest maker of this heaven, Proclus, referring Platonic dogmas to the fables of Orpheus, constituted him fourth from the first cause; but Plotinus the third, as one who has looked up to most of the poets; but Julian the second, as perhaps he had learned from Maximus."

15. But perhaps it is not at all surprising that he both writes and discusses such things in these letters to Bessarion, a supporter of the same opinion. One can see in the noise of words the proud mind of the man, with which, insane, he writes and pronounces such things: which some, delighting in, not otherwise than in those monsters composed of men and oxen according to Empedocles, unless I am mistaken, by reforming dissimilar parts from similar ones in turn, foolishly supported him; not because, with the matter diligently explored, they approved his theology (for not so great a splendor of light was in it, as is clear to anyone not plainly unskilled in the art of dialectic from his impure works, nor again, if it had been either in him or in anyone else, would they have been able to attain the matter: asses to the lyre, as the proverb says); but because they were led by vain rumor so rashly fabricated by the impostor devil, or because, connected to the man by intimate familiarity, they attributed this heap of friendship to him. And Gemistus, while he was vomiting forth these and other so nefarious trifles, established in extreme old

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age, was now approaching the gates of hell, hearing the barking of Cerberus and perceiving the din of the Furies; nevertheless, not caring much about these things, he both thinks and writes these things without shame, offering a clear argument of his latent impiety, nay, for narrating the generations of his gods he assumes as a garrulous teacher and theologian even that execrable and most impure Julian: for such is the dung, such is the shovel.

But perhaps it is not at all surprising that he both writes and discusses such things in these letters to Bessarion, a supporter of the same opinion; for they seem not unlike those which it is to read in that exceedingly impious and most wicked book, in which, alas! wandering insanely, he disputed concerning the multitude of gods, then concerning the providence of the gods and their diverse kinds, most especially indeed concerning the seven most excellent gods, concerning the origin of Poseidon and of the other supercelestial gods, concerning prayers to be poured forth to the gods, concerning the commerce of one man with many women, concerning sacred rites to be performed in the worship of the gods, concerning Jupiter the king and also concerning the supercelestial gods and concerning those who are in heaven; and thenceforth concerning demons and that they are not evil, and against their calumniators: plainly it was to be contended by him with his strength for impure demons, to whose will and nod he had accommodated himself entirely, so that he might also become an heir of him who has been prepared for them of outer and dark and unquenchable fire. For when the most wretched man had denied the maker of heaven and earth, and had plainly been ignorant of that: In the beginning God created heaven and earth, he absurdly adduces his leaders to perdition discoursing concerning the gods also in this place for establishing the origin of their first god, namely of Jupiter. For those whom they posit as gods, these both are generated and perish, and, so to speak, are transmitted from some to others. Is it

not of a plainly erring mind both to think and to write such things? Whom indeed, he says, Plato, his parent, makes the maker of all things, namely Jupiter, him Proclus, following the theology of Orpheus, asserts to have been fourth, with the enumeration having been led from the first, with intermediates certainly preceding him in time. O wretched philosophy, which does not treat of true being, insofar as it is permitted, but weaves together some deceitful and fictitious mythology, about which we shall soon speak, so that that Gemistus may be held in greater contempt and reproach, who, perhaps not unskilled in the Attic dialect, affects in an old womanly way to vomit forth words of such shameful and impious kind, not with philosophical reason, if the meaning is considered, but certainly boasting with only false elegance of speech, he calls the speech to the fables of Orpheus and swells it up in whatever way. Which composition and elegance of words the impudent man has vitiated with most wicked arguments, as if someone should employ polluted and plainly most vile materials for showing off his art in making garments for men, when he could have used clean and fit materials for the matter. But this fabulous or trifling generation of gods which they feign must now be expounded by us, so that we may the more refute and condemn them, and all may well know how monstrous things men professing philosophy have most shamefully handed down, however much it may be troublesome to us to bring forward and produce such foul ineptitudes into the midst, with which those things are no more ridiculous than those which are read in the scenic comedies of the comedians. And these things are thus.

16. Therefore, that Orpheus, very celebrated among the Greeks, in that which, if I remember well, he published Theogony, as it is called, narrating fables with these very words says that Phanes first of all existed, the greatest of their parents, Who gave the tamed world to the divided mortals, Whom the illustrious king Ericapaeus first

held. To this one succeeded Night, Holding the royal scepters in her hands, the glory of Ericapaeus. Afterwards followed Uranus, The first king of the gods after the death of parent Night. Then came "Jupiter, king of the immortal gods." Him however others say to have been the fifth king according to oracles given by Night, while addressing him, She pronounced you to be the fifth king over the perpetual gods.

17. But perhaps it is not at all surprising that he both writes and discusses such things in these letters to Bessarion, a supporter of the same opinion. One can see in the noise of words the proud mind of the man, with which, insane, he writes and pronounces such things: which some, delighting in, not otherwise than in those monsters composed of men and oxen according to Empedocles, unless I am mistaken, by reforming dissimilar parts from similar ones in turn, foolishly supported him; not because, with the matter diligently explored, they approved his theology (for not so great a splendor of light was in it, as is clear to anyone not plainly unskilled in the art of dialectic from his impure works, nor again, if it had been either in him or in anyone else, would they have been able to attain the matter: asses to the lyre, as the proverb says); but because they were led by vain rumor so rashly fabricated by the impostor devil, or because, connected to the man by intimate familiarity, they attributed this heap of friendship to him. And Gemistus, while he was vomiting forth these and other so nefarious trifles, established in extreme old age, was now approaching the gates of hell, hearing the barking of Cerberus and perceiving the din of the Furies; nevertheless, not caring much about these things, he both thinks and writes these things without shame, offering a clear argument of his latent impiety, nay, for narrating the generations of his gods he assumes as a garrulous teacher and theologian even that execrable and most impure Julian: for such is the dung, such is the shovel.

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O how many falsehoods and ineptitudes the theology of these wise men has fashioned! What more shameful could be devised? Execrable indeed are they on account of their error, but more execrable on account of the vileness of those things which they venerate. And they affect philosophy and profess the art of philosophizing, which indeed, as being engaged especially in the investigation of being itself, that is, of truth, and being accustomed to diligently investigate that, detests and utterly rejects such fabulous figments as badly deduced and contrary to being (for they are false), especially that multitude of gods, who insofar as they are many, are finite and corruptible and imperfect, as we said before. Moreover, they are distant both from unity and from each other: but the more they are distant, the more they lack unity and fall away from goodness. Wherefore they are not simply good; insofar as they are not good, they are evil, such as we know the wicked demons to have been, who, when they were good by their nature, by perverse will have become most shameful and evil. These evil demons, when they had received Gemistus departing after death very festively and courteously, as one who had spent his life in the body entirely at their nod, in a letter sent to his insane son Bessarion, a man of the same opinion as he, for bringing consolations, as far as it was permitted to him, says: "It has been reported to me that our common parent and teacher, with any earthly things having been laid aside, has flown into heaven and the most luminous places, to dance the secret Bacchic dance with the gods of Olympus." Alas! after serenity, a dark cloud! after truth, a lie! after the sun, darkness! after one God in nature in three hypostases, the true creator of things and of all things on account of his excessive goodness, many gods, diverse in nature, time, order, producing themselves and the authors of themselves, likewise now procreated, as indeed some among their theologians judge, now procreating, and in this way foolishly cut off into various parts, nor

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plainly worthy to be called gods (for divinity is something undivided); to these things is added that most shameful Bacchic dance. And these things he relates in mind, in words, in tenets, he who was a cardinal of elder Rome, Bessarion! Let all Christians who dwell everywhere through Italy diligently listen, princes and subjects, private citizens and nobles, the people faithful in deed and name of the Lord, as having been clothed with the grace of divine baptism; let them listen, I say, what a most wicked man, without recognizing him, they have magnificently affected with very many rewards and dignities, although he undoubtedly both in deed and in mouth denied Christ our God and carried around in his impure mind many gods leading themselves into being, a crowd namely of wicked demons, nay, a most shameful Bacchic dance to be danced by them not otherwise than by the frogs of Aristophanes. Thus he follows and cultivates his supporter Gemistus as a pledge of friendship and mutual concord: for in this way those who worship demons are worshipped by demons.

18. Besides these things and with these things, the same man, professing and writing in this same impure and most wicked letter the transmigration of souls according to the tenets of Plato or Pythagoras, says a little lower: "Wherefore if anyone admits the doctrine of the perpetual ascent and descent of souls of Pythagoras equally as of Plato, very agreeable indeed to reason, he will not doubt to add this also, that the soul of Plato, after it had served bound by the indissoluble bonds of Adrastia and had completed the fatal circuit, descended into the earth, and with the body of Gemistus having been assumed, led life with him." O diabolical insanity, with which this excellent man both thinking and writing things entirely alien both from the common mind of the faith and from the very natural consequence and character, approves this doctrine very impudently and shamelessly and asserts it to be agreeable to reason. Moreover,

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that they are directly and diametrically opposed to the Christian religion, that is clear to the blind themselves, as they say; but that they are opposed even to the very connection and nature of things, that must now be considered by us, with these words having been brought forward not unseasonably against the man:

19. But hey you, if from your own alone, not from the opinion of Pythagoras or Plato (for these do not assert that souls go into heaven, so that descending thence again they are sent into bodies, but they assert that they go into Tartarus, thence to return again into life; whence it happens that the souls of men do not descend in a certain orbit, as you assert, but ascend from Tartarus: for not into heaven and the pure region, but into Tartarus, as has been said, they are said by them to go, now into the Dog, now into Pluto, now into Persephone: for Socrates thinks this in the *Phaedo* according to Plato saying: "Whoever, with other pleasures and ornaments of the body having been neglected, has studiously followed the pleasures which are perceived in learning, and has adorned his mind not with a foreign, but with his own ornament, temperance, justice, fortitude, liberty, truth, thus expecting migration to Tartarus, as if about to migrate thence, when fate shall have called);—if therefore thus ascending from Tartarus they are sent into other bodies and revive, whence is it clear to you that that soul, which has turned aside into the body of Gemistus, was of Plato? For not only one wise man existed in the present life Plato, but before him very many, but after him not a few equal to him both in speech and in mind, nay, much more excellent than him have been; especially indeed very many sacred doctors of our holy Church have surpassed him by far both in doctrine and in genius: whence it happens that it is plainly uncertain whose such a soul was. For it can happen that it was first of some other, then sent into Plato, thence again transferred into another it has revived, with many bodies even perhaps of irrational beasts having

been changed, such as of an ass or horse or lion or bee or wasp, and finally has turned aside into Gemistus, and again from him into others, so that it cannot be said whose finally such a soul was: for it must not be said definitely of this or that; for only one continuous transmigration of the same through an infinite multitude of bodies is judged. Wherefore it entirely escapes us whose that soul was, which, having gone out from Tartarus, has now inhabited the body of Gemistus composed for the destruction of man. But if that soul was of Plato, Gemistus certainly was first brought into life without a proper soul, endowed and moved only by a sensible and reasonless soul; but later, after having received namely the soul of Plato, instructed with reason and moving himself in human fashion equally as the rest of men. But neither he nor any one of men can rightly be called an individual: for he is said to be divided and cut both into Gemistus and into Plato: into Gemistus indeed, if you look at the body; but into Plato, if you regard the soul. In the same way Bessarion indeed will be according to the body, Epicurus indeed according to the soul, and thus the rest of men. And in this way the philosophical pretext of that rational opinion of Bessarion is dissolved.

20. But that such a doctrine disagrees with the very nature and consequence of the matter and plainly does not cohere, is a clear matter on account of this cause. Since the species of the rational soul is by no means so constituted by nature that it is sent into a body in which a soul devoid of reason is naturally inherent, because that is rational and immortal, as indeed both external wise men and Plato himself, and our theologians, and truth itself judge; but this is devoid of reason and mortal, perishing at once with the humors of the animal. Therefore, just as they differ from each other by the greatest possible difference (certainly by so great a difference that it cannot even be said), so also their bodies and also the members of each body differ from each other. For one is quadruped and prone to the earth,

looking to nothing else than to the one food alone to be taken, agreeable to its nature; but man is a biped animal and walks with head erect, and what is greatest, is powerful with inherent properties and a brain, and has all other members as well as sensory organs plainly dissimilar, so that the faculties of the rational soul using them congruently most aptly elicit their own proper operations, namely of understanding, of thinking, of opining, of imagining, of sensing: with which having been employed, man, always incited to considering intelligible things, is moved to higher things by natural desire, is impelled to learning the ways and reasons of eternal things, with his mind he investigates the beauty of the first mind the maker of things, by which illuminated and changed by divine mutation, he is plainly made a partaker of it. Wherefore on the part of intelligence, of free will, of immortality, he is also rightly said to be its image. For that reason, man, although he agrees in genus with other animals, differs from them in species. But since the difference according to species by far excels the difference according to genus, it also induces diverse species into the subjected things, as we said before.

21. Moreover, although the rational soul is said to be a species sent into matter, nevertheless it has matter and an organ naturally joined to itself, which is congruent with its substance, as it has been constituted by the most wise work of God. For mind indeed and the faculty of sensing are so naturally inherent in it, that in what way the faculty of sensing relates to sensible things, in the same way intelligence relates to intelligible things; nevertheless, they relate themselves dissimilarly according to another reason, insofar as the faculty of sensing suffers from the sensible thing with some bodily mutation: whence the excellence of sensible things is accustomed to harm the sensory organs, which does not happen in the intellect; for the intellect, if it has understood the very greatest of intelligible things, is more able afterwards to understand lesser things. But if the

body is fatigued in understanding, this is by accident, insofar as the intellect needs the operation of the sensitive powers, through which phantasms are prepared for it. Wherefore Aristotle, while in the first book *On the Soul* he ridicules such an absurd opinion of Pythagoras and Plato concerning the soul, says: "Just as it can happen, that any soul without any distinction enters any body, as the fables of the Pythagoreans say: for each seems to have its own proper species and form. Therefore, they say just as if someone should say that the art of a smith enters pipes: for art indeed must use instruments, but the soul must use a body," which may agree with it congruently and aptly. For not any species of soul is naturally fitted to any body. Therefore, the rational soul is not so constituted that it enters the body of a beast, whether it has led a depraved life with its own composite, or a just and holy one: for both are of one and the same species. But if anyone says that the soul is sent by divine justice into the body of a beast opposed to it for the sake of paying a penalty, let him well know this, that the penalty namely, which most aptly and most powerfully agrees with it, is that it miserably falls from the glory and clarity of God, in whose image it previously shone by enjoying the beauty of his contemplation, in what way our Christian religion professes. For since it is devoid of matter and immortal, it is carried perpetually by natural striving to him who is supremely immortal and immaterial. Wherefore if it happens to it, as being entangled beyond its nature by the pollutions of the body, that it loses him, by whose natural appetite it was burning, that will be to it of extreme penalty and grief.

22. But that the rational soul is led away and drawn into the very bodies of brute animals and mixed with them according to the Pythagoreans and Platonists, it again becomes clear from those things which Socrates says according to Plato in the *Phaedo*: "But souls put on, O Cebes, as can be completed from the nature of the matter, such customs as each have exercised in life. - What customs do you say, O

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Socrates? - For example, those who have been dedicated to gluttony, to lust, to drunkenness, and have had nothing of shame, it is likely that they enter asses and brutes of such kind. Do you not think? - You speak very congruently. - But those who have followed injuries, tyrannies, rapines before others, the kinds of wolves, hawks, and kites. Or into what other things shall we say such migrate?" — And again with a few things having been interposed: "Are not, he says, these the most fortunate of them and proceed into the best place, whoever have exercised popular and civil virtue?... — In what way are these most fortunate? - Because it is likely, that these migrate again into such a certain gentle and civil kind, either of bees or of wasps or of ants, or even again into the same human kind, and become modest men from them." Are not these genuine words of Plato? No one certainly will deny, unless he is exceedingly impudent. Let all therefore consider what doctrine plainly agreeable to reason is uttered by Bessarion! O just abandonment by God! Alas! how insane is impious speech of such kind! Indeed, Plato, while he was discussing these and similar things, does not contend that the matter is most certainly thus: for very near the end of the same dialogue, after the speech concerning both Acherusia and Tartarus, and concerning Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus has been completed, and the manifold torments and expiations of souls, which are detained in them, have been expressed, he subjoins: "Therefore, that these things are thus, in what way I have expounded, it is not fitting for a man of sound mind to contend: but that either these or certain such things are concerning our souls, and their habitations, since it appears that the soul is immortal, both seems to me fitting, and worthy, which someone believes with peril: for it is an honorable peril." Therefore, he does not dare to assert entirely whatever he has narrated; but what he has discussed concerning the immortality of the soul, he plainly confirms that they are certainly thus, and for defending that he exposes himself to peril

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with an eager mind. Thus Plato indeed, as befits a philosopher, has not taken so much to himself, that he should write these things confidently; but Bessarion, tenaciously holding such most wicked tenets, boastingly and impudently, as he was, pronounces an expressed judgment concerning these things plainly agreeable to reason, subtracting nothing from them, without noticing the manifold viciousness with which they labored, which appears even to the blind: and this after the Lord God and our Savior Jesus Christ having been manifested in the flesh, through whom we have had certain truth discovered concerning every matter: whence it happens that Plato perhaps is freed from blame, since he lived before him, but all and every excuse is taken away from Bessarion.

23. Wherefore we now assert this rightly and confidently in all ways, that not the soul of Plato ascended from Tartarus to enter the body of Gemistus, after having left that Stygian swamp and Pyriphlegethon, as he says, and Cocytus (for that this cannot happen we have now sufficiently demonstrated), but the whole crowd of wicked demons, which having glided into the animated bodies of both, led them astray and induced them, that they both should think such things and write to each other, introducing into the universe a multitude of gods, who produce themselves, with the one truly maker and founder of the universe God having been abjured, who if, with accurate reason of philosophy and theology having been had, is one, as indeed he both was and is and will be, likewise if he is said to be one and the very good, as the only one having comprehended in himself universal goodness in an eminent and singular way, what need is there to feign and posit other particular gods, who procreate themselves and subsist through themselves, when they are nothing other than perhaps particular unities and particular goodnesses? For either he has most excellently comprehended whatever goodness, being powerful with the power of rendering all things entirely good

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(for he certainly has this will), and also operating continually as the principle of good, since he both is and is called by name omnipotent and best, and in this way it is certainly superfluous to posit many gods; or, if they are not indeed superfluous, they certainly constitute certain goodnesses, which they themselves impart to things through themselves, whence it happens that he is no longer omnipotent nor supremely good, nor therefore the very good simply nor the very one, because neither alone, nor omnipotent, but particular and he himself and one of many; or perhaps they name those “gods” who are called by us divine angels, and they understand by them the divine orders the hosts of these; but indeed both totalities and particularities, and both proximities and distances of unity agree with these, as is fitting. For although they are immaterial and incorporeal, nevertheless they are not uncircumscribed nor superessential: for that is of one divinity. And these neither are nor are called gods, nor do they themselves subsist through themselves and procreate themselves, nor do they themselves, when they were not, effect that they be; nor indeed are they themselves ridiculously and absurdly causes of themselves and caused, such as the gods of Bessarion and Gemistus; but from nothing into being intelligibly created by the best God and the principle of all things, in what way our Gregory surnamed from true theology speaks: “First indeed he devised the angelic and celestial virtues, and that thought was a work which was completed by the Word and was fulfilled by the Spirit; and thus secondary splendors were procreated, ministers of the first splendor.” In that way, I say, created by the God of the universe, they are again administering spirits, so that we may speak with the divine Paul, sent into ministry on account of those who inherit salvation; nay also apparitors of divine glory.

24. But this invective oration against them suffices more than enough, as we judge, for refuting in whatever way their impiety, with the care of thinking and saying more and of rightly attacking them

having been entrusted to those faithful who are more skilled than us and are illuminated with the knowledge and wisdom of divine things. Therefore, since these men were such, as has already been demonstrated from their own books, corrupted and erring in mind in many ways, as those who had fled the domiciles of wicked spirits, by whom they were indeed impelled to resuscitate that fiction of gods once impiously introduced by the Greeks into the universe, but now diminished and utterly weakened by the rays of justice and truth; these, I say, since they were such, and openly feigned the profession of the Christian name, not only did they themselves overshadow the truth in the synod coerced during that time (for they opposed the faith and piety of the divine and superessential Trinity in an impious way, holding as nothing the most venerable and divinely handed down dogmas of Christians), but they also subtly impelled others shaken by them to betray the truth. But not so the thrice-blessed Mark, that pure domicile of the Holy Spirit, who with mind and lips proclaimed everywhere the most clear and divinely handed down Christian religion and the right faith, not, I say, did he either admit such a thing or discuss or recite anything ignoble concerning the accurate and right reason of the dogmas (whose memory we celebrate with joy and exultation of mind: for while the just man is praised, as Wisdom says, the peoples rejoice: for his commemoration contributes to the imitation of virtue, and to the rewarding of those things which he bravely did for the church of Christ); but when all, so to speak, had gradually yielded to the adversaries, and the emperor himself, equally zealous for Christ as for religion, had submitted himself, he alone, as was fitting, with deed as well as with word stood as a pillar of the right faith against kings and tyrants, with naked forehead, so to speak, preaching the truth, and by no means receiving the addition dangerously introduced into the sacred symbol of faith, but bravely fighting against those contradicting, and adhering to the footsteps of

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the holy and divinely inspired Fathers, those lights of the church of Christ, he most openly manifested to all one principle in the immaculate and superdivine Trinity: namely the Father, from whom indeed the Son by generation, but the most holy Spirit by procession as from one cause have shone forth; having as consenting with him in the matter first and especially the only-begotten Son of God the Father devoid of a principle, who remaining in the paternal bosom in a hidden way before the ages, in the last times having conversed with us in the flesh and having truly become man, without falling away from his property in any way, and having been made a teacher of true theology, pronounces and says in the holy Gospel: But when the Paraclete comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness 1 concerning me. Moreover, that mission is one thing, but procession another, is plainly established: for the Son sends the Spirit by consenting to the Father in that sending and dispatching, just as also the Son himself is manifestly sent by the Spirit according to divine Scripture: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; wherefore he has anointed me, he has sent me to evangelize to the poor. For since there is one substance and nature of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, there is certainly also one their will, operation, power, counsel. Wherefore also he says with words plainly worthy of God: Whom I will send (that is "I will dispatch with the consent given to the Father") the Spirit of truth, who from the Father (where observe the article *toū*, which has the force of determining, as if he were saying: "Who from the Father alone") proceeds, namely "who has being from the Father": for this the word procession openly signifies. Therefore, this divine Mark having first of all as a sacred instructor and interpreter in handing down the doctrine of the highest theology; then all also the heralds and theologians of the Church taught by God discoursing in the same way, among whom the most

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skilled in divine things Gregory especially excels, deservedly surnamed the Theologian, who in all perhaps places of his divinely sublime books affirms that the holy Spirit proceeds from the one Father, since he is the one cause of both persons, but in the oration to Heron the philosopher disputing concerning the same matter he says much more evidently: "But prescribe the doctrine of our piety, thus instructing us, that we acknowledge one unbegotten God, that is the Father; likewise one begotten Lord, namely the Son, who indeed is called God, when speech is separately concerning him, but Lord, when he is named with the Father: that on account of nature, this on account of the unique principality of divinity; finally one holy Spirit, proceeding or also going forth from the Father, God himself also, among those who understand those things which are near most excellently; who is also attacked by the impious; but is conceived in mind and mind by those who rise above them; but is also preached by those who are more spiritual. Prescribe also that we attribute no principle to the Father, lest we introduce something prior to the first, from which also that which is first necessarily perishes; nor let us assert that the Son and the holy Spirit are devoid of a principle, lest we take away from the Father that which is proper to him. For they by no means lack a principle, and in some way they lack: which indeed is wonderful to say. For not, as far as the cause is concerned, do they lack a principle: for they are from God, although not after him, just as light from the sun, but as far as time is concerned, they are devoid of a principle. For neither are they subjected to time, lest what is flowing be prior and more ancient to those things which are stable, and what is not be prior to those things which are. Nor likewise let us constitute three principles, lest we fall into the gentile multitude of gods; nor again one indeed, but a certain Jewish and narrow and envious and weak one." — But after him the divine Cyril in the Commentary on the holy Gospel according to Luke says: "Just as a finger hangs from

the hand, not alien from it, but naturally existing in the same, so also the holy Spirit is united to the Son by reason of consubstantiality, although he proceeds from God the Father.” — Moreover also Saint Nilus in his treatise *On the Trinity* speaks with these words: “The holy and catholic church professes indeed the Father unbegotten, but the Son begotten from the Father, but the holy Spirit from the one Father, but not also from the Son.”

25. But who could enumerate all the saints, those most radiant lights of Christ's Church and truly learned theologians, who accurately agree with this opinion in the same words and concepts? For one grace illuminated all of them, which indeed is multiplied in a certain way among individual faithful who are capable of receiving it; however, if the splendor itself is considered, it is one and only, simple and uniform, always remaining entirely consistent with itself. Moreover, if anyone wished to gather together into one the divine sayings of all these, which are directed toward this goal, he would certainly need a more copious discussion and would impose much labor upon himself. Indeed, this was not the proposed purpose and end for us (for these things have escaped us due to the offered opportunity of celebrating the divine Mark); but rather, wickedness opposed to virtue, as well as impiety and the false opinion of many gods, of which Gemistus and Bessario and others of the same kind were participants and supporters, had to be opposed; and virtue and its commendation, as well as piety towards God and truth joined to chastity, of which the divine Mark was in turn a participant and supporter, both in mind and soul, had to be defended. Indeed, through the immense participation of this divine illumination, the entire assembly of saints and most learned doctors and theologians in the Church of Christ God coalesced: whom the most divine Mark, having followed closely and safely, with mind and whole soul, and with chaste lips, appeared as a bright light in the firmament of Christ's

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Church, emitting divine rays of true doctrine more widely to all, becoming a mouth breathing sweetly and a fiery tongue of the Holy Spirit, whose divine grace, when it had found a pure and undefiled dwelling place in his soul, rested in it, and through him poured forth truth far and wide to all the faithful: for ointment is usually committed to a pure vessel.

26. Therefore, in this way, when he had contended splendidly in Italy, having acquired a remarkable reputation, in sermons, lectures, and conversations, he had been invincible and manifested the truth, as has been said, so that nothing could be superior, and had shamed the peddlers of divine things; he returned again to the royal city together with the emperor of blessed memory; where, having completed many labors, recovering some of those who had defected there, and encouraging the emperor himself of blessed memory, as well as others with all his strength, to restore the former soundness of their right sentiments about the dogmas; and when he had left behind him Gennadius, a man truly learned and most holy, who acquired great glory on account of his all-around erudition and virtue, namely him who was afterwards announced patriarch by divine favor, as his heir in cultivating piety and in defending and most strongly fortifying the right doctrines of theology, and had survived him for three years, he departed to the Lord, having published many books for the Church of Christ, all of which excel in grace and the highest theology.

27. You now have what you asked for, my very dear man, expressed in perhaps few words, in which nevertheless the prosecution and refutation of the impiety and false opinion of many gods, both of Gemistus and Bessarion, is summarily exhibited, while the praise of the virtue, piety, and holiness of the most holy Mark, bishop of the Ephesians, and the deeds performed by him are set forth. For it is the mind of our holy Church that those who have shone forth in piety toward God and in every kind of virtue in life,

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flaming with a zeal for unfeigned truth and divine dogmas, should be honored with many praises and ennobled with many crowns and songs; but those who have done otherwise, having committed all kinds of crimes, presenting themselves as impious and hostile to God, having become, as it were, most suitable vessels of the devil, should be pursued with eternal anathema, execrations, appropriate punishments, insults, and revilings. Truly, that unquenchable external fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels, will be a just condemnation and punishment for them, by which they are to be apprehended, just as the righteous will receive light without evening; but indeed, since the Church occupies the place of God on holy earth, she ought to perform all those things which are her own ministry, composing herself in all things according to his example, so that in this way she may, on the one hand, ward off her own children, namely all the faithful, and on the other hand, render them imitators of virtue and impel them to the same zeal for holiness with which those men burned. Therefore, when you have received the solution to your petition, pray for us miserable ones, that, being completely permeated with the light of the very truth and abundantly filled with divine grace, we may attain true illumination, humility, and meekness, so that, being transferred from this present life to the glory of Christ and His Church, we may obtain a part there among those who are to be saved, through the mercy and grace of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and adoration for ever and ever. Amen.

APPENDIX 1

FIRST ANTIRRHETIC AGAINST MANUEL CALECAS ON ESSENCE AND ENERGY

Introduction

The moving cause of this treatise, as well as its final cause, which is its purpose, will be stated at the beginning. However, we will now speak of its specific and exemplary nature: that since the opponent, concerning the matters in which he seems to agree with the heresy, has made his case using quotations and boasts exceedingly in this, while also uttering a few things from his own reasoning, it was necessary for us, following his example, to set against the poorly interpreted quotations from the saints those which are soundly understood. This is especially so since the fathers who came before us, who from the beginning exposed the heresy, valiantly and earnestly defended the dogma, demonstrating with what they call "geometrical necessities" how accurately and soundly it stands. Therefore, it would have been superfluous for us to elaborate further on what has already been well said by them. As for the more combative and detailed arguments, let anyone who wishes to learn about them turn to those works. Let it be known, however, that the present work is merely a

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collection of Scriptural and patristic quotations with some brief elaboration, even if it has been structured in a combative manner out of necessity. Moreover, it contains not a few things from our own reasoning, none of which have been said before by others on the same subject. If, however, it occasionally speaks more harshly against the one to whom the discourse is directed, it begs the reader not to judge it harshly, for it was not possible to remain entirely restrained when opposing such great obstinacy and slander. Indeed, no one who has engaged in such arguments has entirely avoided this. Furthermore, the distinguishing name of the man, which is as much a name of ill repute as it seems to partake of good, compelled us to devise other names for him, which he himself has indeed earned by daring to commit such apostasy. If anyone has also read the so-called Guidebook of the God-bearing father Anastasius of Sinai, they will know that we have used language more moderately than might have been expected.

First Antirhetic Against Manuel Calecas

Mark, the most blessed Archbishop of Ephesus, Eugenikos, Against the First of the Statements of Manuel Kalekas Concerning the Synodical Tome, First Refutative Discourse or On the Distinction Between Divine Essence and Energy.

This man is the last of those from that faction who have attacked the Church, and though he seemed at first to approach the matter more simply than others, as he progresses, he leaves no excess of insult and slander untouched, imitating in all things his fathers and the leaders of the heresy. For my part, if all the sons of the Church were willing to bring forth the grace given to her and to rightly detest those who insult her, and to utterly erase the blasphemies written in their works by every means, I would not have thought it necessary to

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engage in any discourse on this present subject, considering that the heresy has already died and that I am, moreover, particularly unskilled in speaking and lacking in theological expertise. But alas, what a calamity! What they concocted in darkness and barely revealed to two or three of their followers, to the detriment of their own souls, our people now dare to bring to light and even to boldly defend as if they were sound. Who could endure such destruction in silence and not rise up with the word of truth to refute the falsehood that is being advanced and to show it for what it truly is, even if it deceives with a veneer of plausibility those who, out of vanity or meddlesomeness—or I know not what else to call it—give it their attention?

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For they ought not to consider themselves wiser or more secure than the canons of the Spirit, nor should they disregard the civil laws, which explicitly decree that such writings be erased and given to the fire. Indeed, the canon of the Sixth Synod states verbatim: "All the childish toys and mad Bacchic revelries, the false writings composed against the holy icons, are to be handed over to the episcopal archive of Constantinople, so that they may be placed with the rest of the heretical books. If anyone is found hiding these, if he is a bishop, priest, or deacon, let him be deposed; if he is a layman or monk, let him be excommunicated."

Likewise, the civil law states: "The common writings against Christians by Porphyry and others are to be burned, as well as any writings that do not agree with the faith of the Councils of Nicaea and Ephesus and with Cyril of Alexandria, from whose faith it is not permitted to deviate. Those who possess and read the aforementioned books are severely punished."

And another law states: "Those who possess the writings of Severus and do not burn them are to be punished by having their hands cut off." And before these, the great Emperor Constantine, in his law against Arius, says: "If anyone is found hiding a writing composed by Arius and does not immediately bring it forth and consume it with fire, the penalty for this shall be death; for immediately upon being caught, he shall suffer the punishment of losing his head."

These are the laws we ought to observe concerning these new heretics, who have striven so greatly to surpass their predecessors in their insults against us, and who have almost outdone all others in impiety. But alas, their meddlesomeness and their constant craving for novelty, as Paul says, "itching to hear something new," leads them to run after opposing doctrines, and those who are careless are pierced through with a spear. Through their "smooth talk"—for it seems there

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was no other way for them to perish—they drink down the whole poison. But enough of this; let us now proceed to the refutation, since we have been compelled to take up the discourse against the all-powerful divine energy blasphemed by them.

Their Claim and Our Response: They claim here, he says, to elaborate more clearly on the decision of the Synod concerning the question of the divine essence and divine energy, so that those who are ignorant out of simplicity may learn, for as the divine Apostle says, "The one who is ignorant will be ignored," and so that those who slander and accuse others rashly, or rather irrationally and foolishly, may be refuted as wrongdoers.

Now, his discourse is directed against the Synodical Tome composed during the reign of Kantakouzenos, against Gregory and his faction. Gregory himself, in his response, was refuted by both the holy Gregory of Thessalonica and the illustrious Patriarch Philotheos, each in lengthy discourses. Not only did Gregory shamefully cut out most of the strongest arguments presented there, attacking only a few points that seemed easy to refute, but he also, in his excessive madness, distorted even these and, as if sprouting from the words of the saints, attacked the Synod. For almost the entire Tome is woven together in this way: just as dogs bite the stones thrown at them, so too does he blaspheme the words of the saints as if they were ours. It seems that this present dogmatist and enemy has encountered these words and, like a dog, bites them. For he strives to attack opposing arguments, not to gain anything from them, but to distort and malign them, as will be shown. He takes a different path and promises to elaborate more clearly on the decision of the Synod, "so that," he says, "he may refute those who slander and accuse unjustly."

But it is remarkable to observe the power of truth: for he did not dare to promise a refutation, any more than those with eye diseases dare to look at the sun. Instead, he pretends that he was

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unable to find the entire Tome, but received only some parts from one of his companions. And so he comes to us as if to explain, not to refute. But even if he had "stolen the hearing," as they say, he arranges the matter in such a way as not to immediately turn away the readers. Nor would this be far from their usual deceitfulness. What he sets forth here as an apostolic saying, I do not know where he got it from, unless he himself fabricated his own Scriptures. For he risks being ignored as one who is ignorant, as he himself says, though I do not know by whom.

Dividing everything he has composed into two parts, he first consumes himself with what he calls the clarity of the Tome, and then, gathering together the quotations that seem to agree with his views, he inserts them and distorts some of the things in the Tome, interpreting them according to his own opinion, as Gregory did. Yet, if he could genuinely and lawfully refute, as he often claims, why did he not confront the arguments presented there? Why did he need clarity and exposition, and the writings of Palamas? But let us follow step by step this cowardly and cunning beast, and wherever he distorts and corrupts, let us strike him with the weapons of Scripture; and wherever he strays, let us surpass him.

The Synodical Decision: He claims that the entire Synod, having made and written this decision—for it is necessary to be concise—set it up as a pillar of Orthodoxy for itself. Indeed, he asserts that the Tome of Palamas was designated to be called this.

Where and when was this decided, my good man? How could the entire Synod, as you yourself say, with a pious emperor presiding, entrust the common opinion solely to Palamas? Do you see how little you care about being caught in a lie, since you so openly speak falsehoods without concealment? Such are your subsequent claims as well.

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Historical Context: Let this also be known to the minds of those who will read the present work: there was a time when this Church previously issued another decision contrary to this one. The synodical acts that preceded this, during the reign of Andronikos, and the historical accounts concerning these matters bear witness to this.

Who would still be surprised if these corrupters of divine doctrines misinterpret theological expressions, which is common to all heretics, especially when they so shamelessly reject and distort even the events of yesterday and the day before, which are proclaimed in writing and attested by many who still survive? How could they be trusted when speaking about divine matters, they so blatantly lie about our affairs and refuse to allow even those who think and speak contrary to them to bear witness? For who does not know that the Church, in three great Synods—the first while the renowned Emperor Andronikos was still alive and present, the second after his departure from this life, and the third and final one during the reign of Kantakouzenos—consistently expressed the same opinion concerning the divine energy and grace, as being distinct in some way from the divine essence? Or did not Barlaam, Akindynos, and Gregory all dogmatize the same things? Of these, the first was condemned by the earlier Synod, Akindynos by the one following it, and the last by the final Synod, as was fitting.

But the one who hoped to be shielded by falsehood not only places this at the beginning of his composition but also repeats it at the end, saying that one ought not to trust the Church when it expresses the opposite opinion concerning the same matters. Yet, even if this were true concerning the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Synods, where the heresies of the Monothelites and the Iconoclasts were raised and confirmed, and then overturned and abolished, why should we on this account crown those divine Synods with wool and dismiss them, because a contrary vote had previously been cast in the

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same Church? Or do we not consider the Church to be always one and the same, not in its persons but in the character of its orthodox mind, according to which all the Churches throughout the world are called "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church"? And shall we not regard those who at various times have burst in upon her as destroyers, not as the fullness of the Church, nor as shepherds and teachers, but as "savage wolves," according to the apostolic prophecy, who spare not the flock? Such, then, was the patriarch who was exposed in these Synods, for having changed his mind to the opposite and attempting to rebuild what he had destroyed—the doctrines of the Barlaamites. By this, he did not rebuild those doctrines but rather established himself as a transgressor.

And perhaps the writings of that man and the cold assistance he provided to Akindynos and those of like mind, aided by the confusion of political affairs, are what this false speaker calls a "contrary decision." But these writings have nothing to do with the Church, any more than the writings of John Bekkos concerning the innovation of the Latins, or anyone else who innovated before him. Rather, the one who composed them later brought upon himself a just condemnation. For the synodical votes, through the sacred tomes set forth at that time, are clearly established.

The Accusation Against Barlaam: "For when Barlaam heard our monks saying that, according to the tradition of the holy fathers, those who have purified their hearts through the commandments of God mystically and ineffably receive divine illuminations, he accused them of saying that the essence of God is participable. But when they defended themselves, saying that it was not the essence but the uncreated, eternal, and deifying grace of the Spirit, he attempted to bring a charge against them for introducing a second divinity. And again, declaring that by a common synodical vote, since Barlaam had wrongly and dangerously applied himself to divine matters, he was

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condemned, and he supposedly sought forgiveness for these things. And indeed, he declared that if he truly showed repentance and was no longer found speaking or writing about such matters, it would be well; but if not, he would be anathematized and cut off from the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ and from the orthodox body of Christians. Moreover, if anyone else should be found speaking or writing anything blasphemous and ill-advised against the monks—or rather against the Church itself—uttered or written by him, accusing the monks or even touching on such matters, he too would be subjected to the same condemnation by our moderation and would be anathematized and cut off from the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ and from the orthodox body of Christians."

And the renowned Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos, in the same Tome concerning the most divine light of the Transfiguration, says: "Even if the initiates of the Lord ascended to such a height of contemplation on Tabor and saw divine grace and glory, they did not see the very nature that bestows grace. For we know from the divine Scriptures that it is imparticipable, incomprehensible, invisible, even to the supercelestial and highest powers."

The Opposition to Later Dogmas: Are these statements opposed to what was later dogmatized, or do they say the same things about the same matters? But let us proceed further, for our aim from the beginning to the end is not, as this man claims, to "elaborate more clearly on the decisions of the Synod," but to set forth his own ramblings naked, so that the shame in them may be more clearly seen. For after enumerating the chapters presented to the Synod, he adds: "It is clear from the decision in the Tome that they do not propose that distinction by which the one God is ineffably distinguished in His hypostases, but some other distinction invented by them, by

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which, as they wish, the Trihypostatic God is distinguished into essence and energy, or rather essence and energies."

The Divine Distinction According to the Fathers: But what about the one who strives to unite and distinguish divine things by reason, as the divine things themselves are united and distinguished? I mean Dionysius the Areopagite, who, following us, handed down such a distinction. For he says in the first chapter of *On the Divine Names*, which bears the title *On the United and Distinguished Theology*, after presenting the distinction according to the divine hypostases: "These unions and distinctions according to the ineffable union and existence are unions and distinctions. And if there is also a divine distinction, it is the good-like procession of the union, which, being super-united in itself, multiplies and increases itself by goodness. The impartible communications, the essential, life-giving, wisdom-bestowing, and other gifts of the goodness of the Cause of all are united according to the divine distinction, by which the imparticipably participated things are hymned from the participations and the participants." And the divine Maximus, interpreting the same saying in his *Scholia*, says: "He now theologizes concerning the ineffable Trinity up to the three hypostases. But there is also another kind of divine distinction, the procession of God into the manifold creation of the invisible and visible through the abundance of goodness. And the creative providences and goodnesses are common to the Trihypostatic distinguished Monad." And again: "God is said to multiply Himself by the providential processions of His will for the production of beings, but He remains indivisibly one, just as the sun sends forth many rays but remains in unity." And again: "He calls the divine energy here a procession, which produced every substance." And the great Dionysius again in the same chapter: "We say that the divine distinction is, as has been said, the good-like processions of the Thearchy. For bestowing on all beings and

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overflowing the participations of all good things, it is unitedly distinguished, and it is multiplied singularly and manifoldly from the One without departing." And again: "We shall attempt to hymn these common and united distinctions of the whole Godhead from the theonyms that reveal them in the Scriptures, as far as we are able."

Theological Clarification: Do not these theologians seem to you to distinguish the one God into His energies, not using the distinction invented by us, but moving their hand as if from the treasure-house of the Spirit? Or do they also seem to be polytheists, saying that God is multiplied and increased? For these things, our precise advocate of monarchy in what follows calls "nonsense." But listen to how the Church glorifies these things; perhaps you might understand something—though you yourself, having sunk into the deepest folly, would no longer understand, but what is said might be a healing for those struck by you.

We, O empty theologian and superstitious monotheist, do not cut short our one God according to the Jewish contraction and lowliness, as if He were devoid of the Son and the Spirit, who are of the same nature and of the same mind, nor do we, according to Greek vanity and mythology, honor a multitude of subordinate gods attending to their own affairs, as if they were some satraps. What then? Do we, wishing to guard it in simplicity, consider it to be what it is—energy? For having assumed this, the wretched one, no less than the demonic Aristotle, dogmatized that the world is coeternal with God and that all things here are devoid of His providence, consistently. For it is not likely that energy, being energy, does not energize from eternity, nor that it reaches things here, which are subject to change, needing some varied administration and economy.

But not so do we, not so has our theology taught us to think. For we understand God as an active essence, willing, and omnipotent, from His own nature, timelessly and eternally subsisting as Son and

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Spirit, and from His will and energy, the sensible and intelligible creation. And this John of Damascus clearly theologizes, saying:

"The work of the divine nature is the pre-eternal and eternal generation; the work of the divine will is creation."

Thus, both the fitting reverence for God is preserved, and what is due to creation is given, neither dragging down the Son and the Spirit into creation nor elevating creation to divine dignity.

Justin Martyr's Philosophical Argument: These things are also philosophized by Justin, the philosopher and martyr, who most of all opposed the Aristotelian doctrines. For in the third of his Questions to the Greeks, when the Greeks said that in God, to be and to will are not different, for what He is, He wills, and what He wills, He is, and there is no division in God because He is self-moved, the blessed one refutes them, saying: "Since God has essence for existence and will for making, the one who rejects the difference between essence and will also rejects the existence of God and the making of things that are not, the existence of God and the making of things that are not." And again: "If to exist is one thing and to inhere is another—and the essence of God exists, while the will inheres in the essence—then the essence of God is one thing, and the will is another." And again: "To will is either essence or belongs to essence. But if it is essence, the one who wills does not exist; if it belongs to essence, then necessarily one is one thing, and the other is another. For being and belonging are not the same." And again: "If God wills many things, and many things are not, then in God, to be and to will are not the same."

The Distinction in the Tome: This one, having overlooked these things laid down in the Tome and many other clear testimonies, accuses those who set forth the Tome of introducing the distinction from themselves. And adding some things in between, he concludes by saying: "From these things, it is clear that the energy, which they

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say is distinguished from the essence, they also confess to be divinity and uncreated. Therefore, their discourse concerns two and many divinities, differing among themselves. And this is shown more clearly from the words of Palamas, the leader of this decision and opinion, who in almost all his works constructs this, no less than in the discourse whose beginning is: 'Following the spiritually moved votes of the fathers.' For Barlaam and Akindynos, ridiculing these things, cry out against those who cherish the confession to the saints as if they were somehow saying two uncreated divinities, a higher and a lower, not seeing that this so-called charge is referred to our holy fathers."

The Name "Theotes" (Divinity): "That 'Theotes' (Divinity) is a name of energy rather than of the divine essence, as even 'Theotes' itself is sometimes called, so that from this alone their difference is evident, is not our argument, nor is it concluded by the Synod, but it is unquestionably and clearly from the holy fathers. For the divine Gregory of Nyssa, in his discourse On the Divinity of the Son and the Spirit, says: "They say"—clearly the Arians—"Theotes' is significative of nature. But we say that the divine nature either has no significative name or does not have one for us. But if anything is said, whether from human custom or from divine Scripture, it is something signified about it. But the divine nature itself remains ineffable and unutterable, transcending all signification through speech."

And after some things: "Therefore, the name 'Theotes' does not present nature but the power of contemplation." And in To Ablabius: "'Theos' (God) signifies one who energizes, but 'Theotes' (Divinity) signifies energy. But none of the three is energy, but rather each of them is energizing." And again in the letter To Eustathius: "Therefore, the identity of energy in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit clearly shows the unvarying nature. So that even if the name 'Theotes' signifies nature, it is properly applied to the Holy Spirit as

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well, since the commonality of essence composes this, but I do not know how they bring the name 'Theotes' to the indication of nature, those who construct everything." And after some things: "Therefore, the name brings the indication of some authority, whether contemplative or energizing." And again in *To Eunomius*: "And the name 'Theotes' itself, whether it signifies the contemplative or providential authority, was fitting for the human."

And the great Dionysius says: "Divinity is the providence that contemplates all things."

That providence is energy is attested by the great Athanasius, who writes: "The Father and the Son do not work according to one providence and another, but according to one and the same essential energy of Divinity."

These things are explicitly stated by the teachers and luminaries of the Church. But if from these statements two or many divinities are inferred, does it not follow, as you yourself introduce Palamas saying, that the charge is referred to those who said it? But we, defending both ourselves and our holy fathers, say that the Church has received the tradition of confessing one Divinity, not as signifying one thing—namely, nature alone—as the name is said to signify. For you see that this does not seem to be the case according to the saints. Rather, it is because there is not one energy and another and another, nor one nature and another and another of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For in this way, many divinities would have a place, as the holy and Ecumenical Sixth Synod determines in the fifth tome of its eleventh act: "God and God and God, but one God in three. For the Father is not one God, nor is the Son another God, nor again is the Holy Spirit another God, since the Father is not one nature, nor is the Son another nature, nor again is the Holy Spirit another nature. For this would devise many and different gods and produce many and different divinities. But God is the Father, God is

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the Son, and God is likewise the Holy Spirit, as the three persons indivisibly and without lack fill one Divinity."

And the great Basil, again in his letter To Eustathius, says: "Whether 'Divinity' is a name of energy, as we say that there is one energy of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, so we say that there is one Divinity; or whether, according to the opinions of many, the name 'Divinity' is indicative of nature because no variation is found in nature, we rightly define the Holy Trinity as one Divinity."

And Gregory of Nyssa, again in To Ablabius, says: "Insofar as the energy mentioned in the three is one and unvarying, so also is the Divinity one, and one God in three hypostases."

Do you hear how the saints understood it fitting to confess one Divinity and one God? But what do you say, what do you dogmatize, O novel examiner of divine names? Since, he says, the essence of God is one only, called Divinity, for this reason we say that we confess one Divinity. That you are in agreement with Eunomius and the Arians in this, others have said, and it is clear from the statements of the saints. But, "O scoundrel," according to your definition, it would have been necessary not to believe in one Divinity but to say "one the Divinity" and never to utter this without the article, so that when it is said of different persons, yet being one, the Divinity of the three persons would not be thought of as one, just as we say one power of the three, just as indeed Divinity. But nothing prevents the creative, providential, and wonderworking powers from being understood by those who speak of them. These certainly differ from one another, "even if you burst" trying to draw them into one and identify them. But if many powers are said to be in God—for according to the great Dionysius, "God is power, as containing all power in Himself"—yet many divinities are in no way admitted, and this is according to us and the truth. For Divinity is sometimes spoken of concerning nature, and for this reason, gods must be

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introduced with divinities. But power is never spoken of concerning nature, just as energy is not.

For "nature and energy," according to the divine Cyril, are not the same. Therefore, powers and energies are expressed and understood in the plural, and God is said to be multiplied and increased according to them, as you have heard. But again, you cry out, lamenting over the one Divinity, fearing lest, by calling the energy Divinity, you fall into many divinities. But even "humanity," O fool, might be said to be the nature itself by which we are human, and it might also be said to be something proper to nature, such as the rational power, by which man is especially distinguished from other animals, and the "laughing and upright-walking" power, and anything of this sort, but most properly the power of nourishing, from which it is also named, as the divine Anastasius of Sinai says in the so-called Guide, and already Solomon, and in doing justice and being refined, humanity is defined. For "fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man," and further, the system of many men is called humanity, but for this reason, many humanities are not said to exist or to be spoken of. For one humanity is in us, considered according to all these things. But if where many individual men exist, there is one humanity, because the natural things are not separate from the nature in which they are considered, how, where God is one and the three are one, would many divinities have a place?

But why do you accuse and bring forward Palamas, because he altogether accepted and brought forward this expression in his writings? Especially since "our discourse is not about words," as he himself says in defense in the Tome, "but about things and right opinion." For as you say these things and infer them, he, assuming them to be yours, said that, these things being so, it was necessary to accuse the saints, if it was necessary. Otherwise, one might accuse David and charge him with atheism, because he dared to utter and

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deliver to writing what is meditated in the heart of the fool: "There is no God." If, therefore, you accuse the expressions, you would justly accuse yourself, the first to utter the blasphemy. But if you accuse the things and the meaning, he has defended himself at length and in detail concerning this, the truly theological tongue and rational and philosophical, and those things are set forth for those who wish to see clear proofs of the man's sound and precise mind in all things. It has also been said by us here moderately that "now there are not two and many divinities, nor is number at all introduced from our opinion," it has been clarified. But what he added from the Dialogue Against Barlaam and the Orthodox, as: "The other divinities spoken of by the saints, whether one or two or more," is not found written thus, but thus: "If any other of the energies is called Divinity by the saints, whether one or two or more."

But having firmly assumed, as has been said, that we introduce two and many divinities, he proceeds from this to a greater and more absurd charge, as he thinks and says: "That these things distinguished in God, whether these divinities, are not only distinguished in reason but are also realities, and not simply names, and this they construct through many things."

And next, he sets forth the things from which they construct this. Now, the expression of many divinities we do not accept at all, for neither have our fathers said it. But the divine powers and energies, and simply anything that belongs to God naturally and essentially, unless we proclaim them as realities explicitly, we would be ashamed. For if in us virtue is a reality, and wisdom is a reality, and again knowledge is a reality, how in God would these be supposed to be bare and empty names only, when what belongs to Him naturally and from eternity so far surpasses what is acquired in us as being surpasses non-being? But let the theologians again come forward to confirm the opinion for us through their own words. And the great

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Athanasius, in his discourse *On the Synod of Nicaea*, interpreting the words "All that the Father has is mine," says thus: "The Savior did not say this on account of created things, but on account of what pertains to the Divinity of His Father, which the Lord called His own, such as immortality, incorruptibility, unchangeableness, incomprehensibility, power, foreknowledge."

And Gregory of Nyssa, in the first discourse of the *Antirrhetics*, says: "For there is not one thing in reasoning about the things said piously concerning God that you will encounter another reality or thought that will be able to surpass the antiquity of what has been said." And the divine confessor Maximus, in his discourse *To Pyrrhus*, calling the union of natures an energy, since he says, "Union is a relation and not a reality; therefore, the energy of Christ is a relation and not a reality," as he obviously thinks the energy is a reality, which he also shows to be uncreated and distinct from the divine essence in the same discourse, thus says to the same Pyrrhus: "Further, you will be compelled to say that this energy is either created or uncreated, since there is no middle between created and uncreated. And if you say it is created, it will indicate a created nature only; but if uncreated, it will characterize an uncreated essence only. For the natural things must altogether be appropriate to the natures, and how is it possible for the energy of the created and originated nature to be uncreated, or for the energy of the uncreated and unoriginated nature to be created and originated and finite?"

And the same again, in the sixth chapter of the second century of the *Theological Chapters*, says: "There is a reality above the ages, the pure kingdom of God. For it is not lawful to say that the kingdom of God is begun or ended by ages and times."

Behold, you have heard from the saints that the natural things of God and the essential powers and energies are realities, and further, uncreated and above the ages. "But if," he says, "these energies

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are realities and some are called by the name of Divinity, what else is introduced but many divinities again? So that what Palamas denies in words, he establishes in realities, and only for the deception of the simpler, 'I neither thought nor think such a thing,' he says."

And he strings together such things, "babbling and fluttering." But, O excellent one, we neither say nor think many divinities, God forbid! For the energy, even if we know it to be inseparable from nature, is sometimes understood and spoken of by itself, such as goodness, wisdom, foreknowledge, or anything of this sort, for nothing prevents it. But Divinity by itself cannot be spoken of or conceived, since this name is once placed on nature. But whether one wishes to understand the contemplative, or the consuming and destroying, or the pervading power through all things, calling it Divinity, for we are led to all these conceptions by the name, as it seems to the saints, at the same time one is compelled to conceive the nature to which these belong, just as when one says humanity, if he happens to mean the contemplative power, he has at the same time conceived human nature. Therefore, it is not possible to say or conceive many divinities, lest nature also be split by the multitude. Therefore, there is one Divinity, since Divinity is nature, even if the name is applied to some of the energies.

I would say now, and with great confidence, that the Church would not at all reject this, I mean the expression of many divinities, since it does not know how to be enslaved to syllables and words where the meaning is sound, unless it avoids Greek insatiability and the desire to give some handle to their myths. For it does not refuse to say "many spirits," according to the holy Isaiah, even though the holy hypostasis of the Spirit is one and simple. That these are the energies of the hypostasis of the Spirit, hear from the Theologian: "For the energies of the Spirit, Isaiah loves to call spirits."

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That they are uncreated is clear even from this, for no one, unless utterly mad, would dare to say that creations rest upon the Master. But it is clear from what the evangelist John teaches in the Apocalypse, theologizing these things as being before the throne of God. And the divine Cyril, interpreting the very saying of Isaiah, says that the Holy Spirit itself is what rested upon Christ in His own energies: "For," he says, "although Christ became like us, He was without sin, and the Holy Spirit rested upon the human nature, as in Him first and as in the firstfruits of the race, so that it might also rest upon us and remain henceforth dwelling in the minds of the believers."

For thus the divine John says that the Spirit was seen descending from heaven and remaining upon Christ.

And John Chrysostom, in his discourse On the Holy Spirit, says: "'The Spirit of God will rest upon Him,' here the name of the nature of the Spirit. Henceforth the gifts: the spirit of wisdom and understanding," and so on. And David asks that a clean heart be created in him, but that a right spirit be renewed within him, and that he be strengthened by a leading spirit, that is, by a grace leading the passions and ruling the pleasures.

These things have been said by us concerning the divine authority of the Holy Spirit and the difference according to the energies. But the heretics, not knowing that when it says "Spirit of holiness" or "of promise," it speaks of the gifts, they refer it to nature, saying that God gave and granted the Holy Spirit. "You see," he says, "that it is a gift of God?" They read the things about the gifts and referred them to nature, when they ought to understand which names signify nature and which names interpret grace.

These things, even if they have been said by us somewhat digressively, are nevertheless not useless against those who separate these spirits—that is, the spiritual gifts—so far from the Spirit as to

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think—alas, the madness!—that they are created things. And these things, while Scripture calls them "the eyes of the Lord," looking upon all the earth, our God-bearing father Basil calls them "the body of the Spirit." For he says in his *Logical Discourses Against Eunomius*: "One might say that all these and whatever other gifts of the Spirit there are constitute, as it were, a kind of body of the Spirit, and each individual gift is a finger."

Thus, the gifts of the Spirit are united in essence with the Spirit Himself. But these men do not even understand this, and so they fall into contradictions with themselves and oppose the Latins, to whom they have defected. For indeed, the Spirit given through the breath after the resurrection would no longer be the hypostasis of the Spirit but some created thing—for it was a gift of the forgiveness of sins. And the Spirit in Paul, in which he spoke mysteries, would be a created thing. And Christ Himself, speaking in him, would be a created thing. And I marvel how they do not flee from themselves, being carried away by such impieties.

But let us return to the beginning. "Names," he says, "are the things said of God that differ only in reason."

Do you, then, fashion for us, as it seems, divine names like scarecrows and some nonexistent, airy voices? Not even respecting your own Aristotle, who said that names are symbols of the thoughts in the soul, and thoughts are symbols of realities, how could they differ from one another in reason if they are not significative of realities concerning which they are spoken? For this surpasses all irrationality. For words are words of realities, not of bare sounds and utterances. But see also the great Gregory of Nyssa again opposing your doctrines: "Lordship," he says in *Against Eunomius*, "is not a name of essence but of authority, and the name of Christ indicates His kingdom, but the account of His kingdom is one thing, and the account of His nature is another."

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That the kingdom is a reality and above the ages, you have heard from the venerable Maximus saying, and the same again in the same work: "And the names, whose signification is indicative of some position and existence, have their indication not of the divine nature itself but of the things piously contemplated around it."

And the great Basil, in the first discourse of the *Antirrhetics*, says: "How is it not ridiculous to say that the creative power is essence, the providential power again essence, the foreknowing power likewise, and in short, to posit every energy as essence? And if all these tend to one signification, it is altogether necessary that the names be able to signify the same thing as one another, as in the case of polyonyms, when we call the same person Simon, Peter, and Cephas. Therefore, the one who hears 'the unchangeable' of God will be led to 'the unbegotten,' and the one who hears 'the indivisible' will be carried to 'the creative.' And what could be more absurd than this confusion, taking away the proper signification of each of the names and legislating contrary to both common usage and the teaching of the Spirit?"

Do you hear how the names are not all placed on the essence as having the same power, as in the case of polyonyms, nor are they nonexistent and insignificant? But each of them has its own underlying signification. And if signification, then clearly also reality. For to suppose a signification without a reality is impossible, just as it is impossible to have a word without a thought. But you are not ashamed even of the common name of energy, spoken of so many and different things. For things that have a common name are realities, not merely names, unless you say that the name of names is a name, following your own assumptions.

What, then, does the marvelous treatise *On the Divine Names* of the truly marvelous Dionysius seem to you to have as its purpose—concerning some nonexistent things or things spoken of as

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one and the same? You would hardly persuade anyone, I think, who has closely followed the thought of the book. But we will hear this opinion of yours being clearly expressed by yourself in what follows, and with God's help, we will thoroughly refute it. But now we must proceed forward, passing over many of the intervening ramblings and the scattered mockery and insults. For to attempt to go through everything one by one, as one who tries to refute, is nothing short of laborious and tedious, like cleaning the dung of Augeas.

The Distinction Between Essence and Energy : "Not simply," he says, "did those of the Synod thus distinguish the essence of God and the energy from one another and say that they differ, but they also used many modes of distinction and opposition concerning them, by which it is in no way possible for the essence and the energy to come together into one and be one Divinity, as these men deceive the simpler."

But neither did we, the accused, introduce the modes of distinction from ourselves, unless we were deaf to the voices of the saints, who say that the essence and energy are one in reality, and the distinction is no hindrance. For where there are perfect hypostases, existing and contemplated in themselves—of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—the distinction does not harm the unity, for there is one Divinity in the three, and the three are one in whom the Divinity is. Where the energy does not subsist by itself but is said to inhere and be contemplated in the essence, how will it not be one with it and precisely one?

For the distinction is conceptual, according to the great Anastasius, but the union is real and inseparable. For the energy is about the whole, and the essence is inseparable from it. And according to the same again: "Wherever the energy appears, the essence from which it proceeds is also contemplated with it. For each is uncircumscribed, and therefore they are altogether inseparable."

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Behold, from this saint you have heard both things—that which is said of two, and that they are altogether inseparable, and further, that they are one in reality. These things we also think and proclaim. But how, he says, do you now say that the things you recently called realities, contemplated by themselves, are divisible in conception but indivisible in reality? Because, O friend, it is not the same thing to be realities and to be divided in reality. For in the case of substances, the soul and the body are realities—for each is a substance—but they are not divided in reality as long as they are united. And the two natures united in Christ are thus united in reality into one precise reality and one hypostasis, so that they are no longer divided except in conception. But we will not on this account deny that they are realities. For they remain thus unconfused, each with its own properties.

If, therefore, it is so with substances, and with substances so different and opposed to such an extent, how much more so when the discourse is about essence and energy, whose union is more real and altogether inseparable? For there, indeed, there is composition, but here there is none at all. For compositions belong to things existing in hypostasis, not to things contemplated in another, as the divine Maximus says. Nothing, therefore, prevents the energies from being realities and united in reality.

But proceeding next to expound the modes of distinction, the one who proposed to "elaborate more clearly on the decision of the Synod," as he boasted at the beginning, alas, how much idle talk, how much mockery and irony, how much falsehood and malice he has vomited forth! For while the divine Synod used language very simply and without superfluity, and set forth only the voices of the saints concerning distinction as they are, this lover of evil runs past these, but he himself invents endlessly, or rather scatters seeds and babbles, and increases the modes of distinction to twenty-eight in

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number. What is he doing with this? So that, having entirely removed the energy from the essence and separated it by wide boundaries, he may now firmly convict us as advocates of two and many divinities.

Now, the theft and buffoonery in each case, being immediately evident, should be passed over, especially since the discourse avoids satiety. But where he thought it necessary to have some construction and a more detailed discourse and testimony, these things must be brought forward, so that we may see whether he theologizes and clarifies the things of the Synod or fights against God and slanders, and does everything rather than what he proposed. For expounding the twelfth mode of distinction, he says: "They dogmatize that the essence is invisible, but the energy is visible."

And next he sets forth the things concerning the divine light. O sophist of wickedness! How did you manage to say "visible" concerning what is in the Spirit? For we do not dogmatize that the energy, or the divine light, is simply visible or intelligible, but that it is visible and intelligible to those who have become spiritual, who see and understand. And let the holy Dionysius come forward again to bear witness with us: "For when," he says, "we become incorruptible and immortal and attain the Christ-like and most blessed state, 'we shall always be with the Lord,' according to the oracle, being filled with the most luminous contemplations of His visible theophany, which shines around us with the brightest radiance, as also the disciples in that most divine Transfiguration, and partaking of His intelligible light-giving in a passionless and immaterial mind."

Have you heard of a visible theophany? But in most holy contemplations. Have you heard of an intelligible light-giving? But in a passionless and immaterial mind. But for the mind to become such without the Spirit is impossible. For the most divine Maximus, in his contemplation On the Transfiguration, explaining the manner of that vision, says: "From the flesh, the apostles passed over to the Spirit

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before laying aside the life according to the flesh, by the exchange of the activities according to the senses, which the Spirit worked in them, removing the hindrances of the passions from the intellectual power in them, through which, having been purified, the senses of soul and body are trained in the spiritual words of the mysteries shown to them, being taught mystically that the most blessed radiance shining forth from His face like rays, surpassing all activity of eyes, is a symbol of His Divinity, which is beyond mind, sense, essence, and knowledge."

And St. John of Damascus, in his discourse On the Transfiguration, says: "Christ is transfigured, not taking on what He was not, nor changing into what He was not, but revealing to His own disciples what He was, opening their eyes and making the blind see. And this is 'He was transfigured before them.'"

And again in the same discourse: "No one has ever seen God,' as He is by nature. But whoever has seen Him has seen Him in the Spirit. 'This is the change of the right hand of the Most High.' These are the things 'which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man.' Ever thus in the age to come, 'we shall always be with the Lord,' seeing Christ shining with the light of Divinity."

And the divine Andrew of Crete, in his discourse for the same feast, says: "The ray of that immaculate flesh, which the disciples could not bear, or from the Divinity of the Word, who was united to the flesh in hypostasis, shone forth through it beyond nature, 'they fell on their faces,' O the wonder! In an ecstasy most perfect of nature, they fell, overcome by heavy sleep and fear. Closing their senses, they utterly detached themselves from all intellectual movement and apprehension. Thus, in that divine and most luminous and invisible darkness, they were united with God, having received the vision of truly seeing by not seeing at all."

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That, therefore, the evangelists saw, you have heard, and how they saw, you hear from the theologians, as far as it is possible to say. For it is not possible to speak precisely. And that what they saw was a ray of Divinity springing from that immaculate flesh, and that this ray is natural and unoriginate, or rather uncreated and coeternal with God, hear again John of Damascus saying the same thing in the aforementioned discourse: "Before the disciples, He who is always glorified in the same way and shines with the lightning of Divinity is transfigured. For having been begotten from the Father without beginning, He possesses the natural ray of Divinity without beginning, and the glory of Divinity becomes the glory of the body."

Therefore, we posit this divine energy, which shone around the disciples with luminous radiance, as not visible by nature—for otherwise it would have been seen also by the rest of the people, who were, as is likely, around the mountain—but as visible invisibly and understood unknowably by divine grace and the power of the Spirit. And according to this, we say that God Himself becomes visible in some way by condescension and grace, He who is invisible by essence. But whether this agrees with the saints or not, let us see again. For the great Basil, in *Against Eunomius* on the Trinity, says: "If the Son were true light, the light that enlightens every man coming into the world, but God, he says, 'dwells in unapproachable light.' For the unapproachable is altogether true, and the true is unapproachable, since even the apostles fell at the glory of the light of the Son, being unable to gaze at it because it is unapproachable light."

And John Chrysostom, the theologian, speaking in his discourses on Uzziah concerning the Seraphim, says: "Why, tell me, do they cover their faces and spread their wings? Is it because they cannot bear the lightning and those radiances shining from the throne? And yet they did not see the light itself in its purity, nor the essence itself, but what was seen was a condescension. What is

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condescension? When God does not appear as He is, but as the one who is able to see Him is able, thus He shows Himself, measuring the demonstration to the weakness of the viewers. Therefore, even if you hear the prophet saying, 'I saw the Lord sitting on a throne,' do not suspect that he saw that essence, but the condescension itself, and this more dimly than the powers above."

And the same again, in the first of the same discourses: "The Seraphim, enjoying the ineffable glory of the Creator and beholding His unutterable beauty—I do not say that beauty itself, which is by nature, for this is incomprehensible, unseeable, unformed, and without place, to think thus about Him—but as much as they are able, as much as they are strong to be illuminated by that ray. For since they serve continually around the royal throne, they remain in continual joy, in eternal gladness, in unceasing exultation."

Do you hear that even to the first powers around God, not to mention men subject to generation and corruption, that essence is unapproachable and unseeable, but the glory and brightness are seeable, and this only by condescension and grace? How, then, will you reconcile 'no one has ever seen God' and 'the pure in heart will see God'? Perhaps you will think that the knowledge from creatures is called vision, but first, the promise is for the future, when the creatures 'will pass away,' and only to the worthy is the face-to-face vision hoped for. Second, even from creatures, it is not the knowledge of the essence, as the saints think, but the knowledge of the energy that comes to us. And this the luminary of the Church, Gregory of Nyssa, says in his interpretation of the Beatitudes: "The divine nature itself, whatever it is by essence, is above all comprehending thought. But He who is above all nature by nature is seen and comprehended in another way, and there are many modes of such comprehension. For it is possible to see conjecturally the One who made all things in wisdom through the wisdom manifested in the universe. For looking

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at the world in creation, we form an idea not of the essence but of the wisdom of the One who wisely made all things. And if we consider the cause of our life, that it came to create man not by necessity but by good will, again through this mode we say that we have seen God, having come to think of His goodness, not of His essence. So also with all the rest. For He who is by nature invisible becomes visible in His energies, being contemplated in some of His peculiarities. But the mind does not look only to this in the beatitude, that from some energy it is able to conjecture the Energizer." And after a little: "What is the blessed vision? Holiness, purity, simplicity—all these luminous reflections of the divine nature." And again in the same: "The beauty that surpasses all the supercosmic and heavenly beauties, which the truthful Word declared the pure in heart would see, is better than all hope and higher than all conjectural likeness."

And the great Basil, in the second discourse of the *Antirrhetics*, says: "The works are indicative of power, wisdom, and skill, but not of the essence itself, nor do they necessarily present the whole power of the Creator."

And the divine Cyril, in the *Treasures*, says: "Nothing of the divine properties is acquired. But from the effects, that is, the creatures, according to these energies, but not according to essence, God is seen."

Have you now, therefore, been subdued by so many voices and testimonies? Or do you still dare to grumble and, against your own head, act boldly and disbelieve the divine visions? For you seem to be entirely attached to the visible, fighting against the invisible. Now, to be ignorant and to be perplexed is not yet entirely blameworthy; for neither would someone who was blind from birth and then was perplexed about light and colors deserve just reproach, nor would someone inexperienced, who doubted about swimming in the presence of those who know. But to utterly disbelieve in this way

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and to continually contend with those who have learned by experience is plainly Judaic, not to say demonic. For when Stephen was recounting that marvelous vision, they heard him speaking and saw his face shining with an ineffable brightness, yet they were not only unmoved by what they heard or saw, but they also stopped their ears like an asp and rushed to murder the righteous one. Come then, let me again probe the wound of your hardness and heal your disbelief with the voices of the Fathers; for I have no leisure to invent remedies from myself, when it is possible to use those already prepared by them. Therefore, the most divine Maximus, interpreting the theological saying, states: "I take it that he speaks of a true vision of the night, that is, a certain vision of divine things, which, through much purity and perfect impassibility, appears to the eyes of the saints."

And Gregory of Nyssa, in his Funeral Oration for his brother, the great Basil, says the following about him: "Moses was illuminated by the light through the bush. We have something akin to this vision to say about him as well: that while it was night, a light appeared to him as he was praying in his house, and that light was immaterial, illuminating the dwelling by divine power." These, then, are the words of those who have seen and of those who believe in those who have seen, who would be judged more blessed, as the Lord's word has declared. But you subject what is beyond nature and uncreated and immaterial to human inventions and divisions, insisting that it can never be grasped by the eyes, neither granting the miracle to divine grace and condescension, as you hear from the theologians, which surely occurs only through energy; for nature would not descend from itself, not being naturally inclined to do so, nor would it depend on the elevation and purification of those who see. And yet you grant the opposite power the ability to act upon human vision, transforming and altering it to such an extent that it

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seems to see what neither exists nor can exist at all. This is clearly demonstrated by the wonderworkers even to this day, who make this their art and have already received their name from it. Moreover, from the accounts recorded, it is evident that such things are merely an affection of the vision of the beholders and nothing more. For instance, Faustus, who was transformed by Simon the Magus in the presence of the great Peter, and the woman who was altered in appearance before the divine ascetic Macarius, both testify to this. But these men, by acting contrary to nature, dispose the vision of the beholders toward what is not. Tell me, then, do you not think that God, who is all-powerful, who gives existence to those who are and calls into being those who are not, can do something to the vision of men for the better, elevating it beyond nature, and this toward what truly is? For how can it be that what is not, O voices of God and words of teachers and reverence of the Fathers, the kingdom of Christ, which He promised to those who saw Him before the days, the glory of the Father, with which our Lord will come at His second coming, the light of the age to come, the natural and co-eternal radiance of the Son and brightness, the divinity of the Father and the Spirit, shining forth in the only-begotten Son—how can it be that these are not?

These things, then, have perhaps been argued beyond measure on our part because of those who contend beyond measure. For I think that not only what is uncreated and entirely immaterial, but also nothing of the created and temporal, can be seen by a natural and created power of perception. For how could an angel, being an incorporeal intellect, be seen unless some spiritual power were granted to those who see? For we cannot attribute everything to the preparation and purification of the beholders, since even Daniel, though so purified, nearly died when he saw the terrifying angel, nor can we attribute it to the condescension and, as it were, the

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thickening and enveloping of the angels who appear; for this is what some have thought. For how could the archistrategos who spoke to Joshua the son of Nun have been seen by all who were then around him, as is likely, since he was a general? Yet no one saw that vision or heard the words. And what of the Lord's body after the resurrection, which had already been transformed into incorruption, so that it could enter through closed doors? Was it visible to a natural and sensory power? And why was it not seen by all, but only by the apostles, whom He intended to use as witnesses of the resurrection, and only to the extent, at the time, and in the place that He willed? And how did it come to pass that they disbelieved, even though they had heard so much beforehand about the resurrection and had seen so many raised from the dead, unless they perceived some alteration both in themselves and in the one they saw? For they disbelieved for joy, as you have heard. And how did they believe at all, unless they were persuaded by a great power, through which they also bore witness to the resurrection? And what does the encounter with Luke and Cleopas mean, through another form, and the holding of their eyes and their subsequent opening, and the recognition that followed, and His disappearance? For all these things bear witness to the will and power of the risen one, through which He brought about all those manifestations to those who saw. What, then, are human reasonings? What are human inventions? Feeble and precarious things, as someone has said, which will never be able to present the most divine things in speech, nor to distinguish and explain the ways and causes as they are.

"Let faith be the guide of words concerning God," said the great Basil; "faith, not demonstration; faith, which draws the soul into assent beyond logical methods; faith, which comes not by geometric necessities, but by the energies of the Spirit." And if they do not believe, as the Scriptures say, neither will they understand. But you,

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who are utterly blind to divine visions but sharper in hunting down words and splitting hairs—a habit always characteristic of heretics—once again pour out the venom of bitterness against Palamas, dragging out some of his sayings to mock and ridicule, in which he seems to call the Divinity "visible." But if the theologian's phrase, "a little less than vision," seems to you to mean something other than "visible," as it does to me, I do not know why you do not listen to the heaven-revealing, God-bearing Basil, who says in his Ethical Discourses, in his explanation of Psalm 45: "The beauty of the existing One, powerful concerning Christ, is His intelligible and contemplative divinity." And a little later: "Peter and the sons of Thunder were counted worthy to behold His beauty on the mountain, surpassing the brightness of the sun and the preludes of His glorious coming with their eyes." And why do you not blaspheme the inspired translator, the most eminent of the theologians, John, who says in his commentary on him: "They saw the very divinity of the Word unveiled on the mountain."

But leaving the teachers, you turn your whole zeal against the disciple; for such things you also slander the man in the 16th chapter, distorting his words and cutting them short, after introducing the distinction between what is above and what is below from the letter to Akindynos of that blessed one, attempting to stir up the many divinities, both above and below, which they chatter about against us, although in those very words he has as his aim the constitution of the one Divinity. Let us see, then, how accurately he used the words of the blessed Dionysius, and how this destroyer mutilated them.

For Palamas says in his letter to Akindynos: "There is, therefore, a lower divinity, which is a gift of the higher." Thus says the slanderer; but that God-inspired man, having first set down the words of the holy Dionysius, when Gaius asked, "How is He beyond all and above thearchy and agatharchy?" answers: "If you understand divinity

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and goodness as the very matter of the divinizing and good-making gift, of the so-called divinity and goodness, as of thearchy and agatharchy, He is beyond every principle." Then he adds: "There is, therefore, a lower divinity, according to the God-wise theologians, as the great Dionysius also said here, which is deification, being a gift of the higher essence of God." Are you in agreement with the great Dionysius, or is Palamas above your cavils, or do both fall under them? You would hardly say so, you who spare not even the holy theologians. What opinion, then, do you hold about this divinity, beyond which you say God is, that is, according to essence, as the great Dionysius has said? There is no need for us to labor in bringing it forth, for you yourself will soon give birth to it, or rather miscarry and cast it away as an evil offspring, which, dashed against the rock—and you know which rock that is—will be shattered and destroyed, and will suffer the fate of the children of Babylon, perishing justly.

Very well; but having taken material from the aforementioned distinction between what is above and what is below, the vain-minded one again engages in technicalities, introducing certain sequences and positions, qualities and quantities, of which the Synod made no mention at all, and he introduces the manner of distinction, as if it were devised by them, "by necessary sequence." But I, God knows, hesitate to add what follows, and I almost grow dizzy contemplating the madness and folly of this wretched little man: on the one hand, that he stitches together such things from such materials, and on the other, that he hoped to escape the notice of those who read with understanding. But it is necessary to endure the unpleasantness, once having entered into such discourses. For it is said in the Tome: "The divine essence precedes as that which is according to will, and the divine energy follows as that which is beyond will." This they try to demonstrate from the words of the great Athanasius, who said in another sense, against the Arians: "If they ascribe to God

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the willing of things that are not, why do they not recognize that which is above the will of God?" And again he says: "Just as the contrary to the will is what is beyond will, so what is according to nature is above and precedes the will."

The fathers of the Synod, then, having simply stated these words to indicate the transcendence of God according to essence, went no further. But this marvelous expositor of ours, having passed over these, let us see how he unfolds the meaning, whether of those who used the words or of the one who first spoke them. Rather, he has correctly set forth the meaning of those who used them; for he adds directly, saying: "Since what is according to nature is above the will, and the divine will of God is energy, therefore what is according to nature is also above the divine energy." To this, he cannot even look; but what he adds as absurd, reasoning thus, is directly referred to the teacher, and waging war against him, the accursed one does not even perceive what he is saying. For what does he say? "But the teacher says: 'What is according to nature is above and precedes the will, just as the contrary to the will is what is beyond will,' and the absurd reasoning: 'Therefore, what is beyond will follows what is according to nature, and in the same sequence, the divine energy follows the divine essence.'" Well done, O wise analogy and demonstration! Is this the other meaning, wretch, according to which you said the great one spoke the words? And what sequence did he ever speak of the contrary to the will following what is according to nature? For it remains to defend him, for he said that the contrary to the will is what is beyond will, and what is according to nature is above and precedes the will. What necessary sequence, then, follows from these extremes? For surely the sequence does not apply to both intervals, as if the greater follows the middle, and this follows the last. Rather, let us set forth the meaning of the saint more clearly, which this crooked one has hidden and turned to this nonsense. For the

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Arians, introducing a division, said that the Father begot the Son either by will or beyond will, so that if beyond will, they might ask who compelled Him, and if by will, they might prove Him to be a creature—for it was agreed that what comes from will is created. Avoiding this dilemma, the great one said: "The heretics have seen the contrary to the will, but they have not contemplated the greater and the above; for just as the contrary to the will is what is beyond will, so what is according to nature is above and precedes the will." That is, just as it is true, which they introduce by division, that the contrary to the will is what is beyond will, so it is also true, which they omit, that the essence is above the will. Therefore, a third thing having appeared, apart from the contraries of the essence, the Son would be begotten from it, neither from the will nor beyond the will, as they forced it. Thus the great one spoke the words, and thus those who used them understood them, and thus this reasoner has distorted them, doing the same thing directly. As if someone had said, "Just as the contrary to the rational is the irrational, so the intellect is above and precedes the rational," and then this one reasoned, "Therefore, the irrational follows the intellect, and in the same way, the rational follows the intellect," which is no less absurd than the irrational. For from a privative and a positive premise, a positive conclusion is not drawn, but a privative one. This is clear from what has been written. This syllogism of ours, then, is gone, having been refuted, and is nothing sound. From this, one might also infer the rest of the man's reasoning, how full it is of absurdity and ignorance, and at the same time of folly and malice.

He says that the twentieth manner of distinction has been mythologized by them according to quantity: that the divine essence is infinitely above, and the divine energy is infinitely below. And wishing to demonstrate this, they slander the divine Maximus, who most clearly spoke such a juxtaposition concerning God and His

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creatures: "God is infinitely above all that participates and is participated." This they applied to the uncreated natural and essential energy of God. Again here, the fathers of the Synod having simply stated the words, this mythologist truly fashioned from them a manner of distinction according to quantity, and then brought forth his opinion concerning the use, declaring that the participated and the participating are creatures. But we will not attend to your nonsense until we hear Maximus himself, the great one, distinguishing these things and assigning some to creation, while clearly theologizing that the participated are uncreated and without beginning and are beheld essentially around God. For he says in the chapter before this, which is the 90th of the first hundred of the Theological Chapters: "The works of God that have begun in time to exist are all things that participate in being, such as the various substances of beings; for they have non-being as older than their being, for there was once a time when the participating beings were not. But the works of God that have not begun in time to exist are the participated beings, which the participating beings partake of by grace, such as goodness and everything that is contained in the concept of goodness, and simply all life and immortality and simplicity and immutability and infinity and all that is essentially beheld around Him, which are also works of God and have not begun in time to exist; for there was never a time when goodness was not, nor any of the others mentioned, even if the participating beings have begun in time to exist according to them. For every virtue is without beginning, not having time as older than itself, having God alone as the only eternal begetter of being."

And again in the chapter after this, which is the 91st: "All immortal things and immortality itself, and all living things and life itself, and all holy things and holiness itself, and all virtuous things and virtue itself, and all good things and goodness itself, and all

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beings and being itself, are manifestly works of God. But some have begun in time to exist—for there was once a time when they were not—and others have not begun in time to exist; for there was never a time when virtue and goodness and immortality and holiness were not."

That the participated are all uncreated and not created, according to the participating, he himself has said, and there is no need to add. But that these very things are powers and energies of the divine nature proceeding and remaining inseparable from it, hear the divine Dionysius saying in the 11th chapter of *On the Divine Names*, which has the title *On Peace*: "We call self-being and self-life and self-divinity, primarily and divinely and causally, the one hyper-archic and hyper-essential cause of all, but participatively the providential powers given from the unparticipated God, self-substantiality, self-vitality, self-divinity, of which beings, partaking suitably to themselves, are and are called beings and living and divine."

But how, he says, can the infinitely below in God and around God be essentially beheld and be one with Him in reality? And what does this infinitely below mean at all? To this, it is not for us, but for those who first spoke it, to answer justly and to give an account, being accused of their own words; for it is not for those who have once confessed to be disciples to meddle with the words of the teachers. Nevertheless, we too will meet the accusation in the best way we can, paying a most necessary debt to the fathers by making this defense for them. We will say, then, that because they are participated and descend to the participating, and thus in a way become one with them, for this reason they are said to be infinitely below the essence of God.

"For His energies," says the great Basil in his work *To Amphilochius*, "descend to us, but His essence remains inaccessible." When, therefore, they are beheld in us as if created, then, looking to

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the participating, they are named from them, and God is said to be infinitely above all these. For how could He not be above what is altogether incomprehensible and unparticipated and invisible, compared to what is in any way comprehensible and participated and known? But how does such transcendence and descent not bring about division? For not even the ray of the sun around us, by which we are illuminated and warmed, is separated from the one sun, although it is sometimes called a sun. "For God is said to be multiplied," says the divine Maximus, "by the will for the production of beings, being multiplied by providential processions, but remaining undivided in Himself. Just as the sun, sending forth many rays, remains in unity."

And again the same one, in the 27th chapter of the first hundred of *On Love*, says that God is both these things and above them again, that is, according to essence, thus theologizing: "For God," he says, "being self-existence and self-goodness and self-wisdom, or rather, to speak more truly, being above all these, has nothing contrary at all."

But we have also brought forward the great Dionysius, saying the same thing: self-being and self-substantiality and self-life and self-vitality and self-divinity and self-deification. But self-being and self-life and self-divinity are beheld in God; for these, he said, are also called the one hyper-archic cause of all, that is, the divine essence. But self-substantiality and self-vitality and self-deification are beheld in us, being created and perfected according to them, since through them we become partakers of the divine nature, as the divine Peter said. Hence they are also called powers and energies: powers, as being in God and around God from all eternity and remaining; energies, as energizing around us who are under time. But if you have also heard the one who says: "Only God is participated in, and creation only participates in being, but does not impart being," these participated

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things would neither be outside of God—for they are participated—nor would they be creatures. For if they were creatures, they would themselves participate in other things, and those in others, and this would go on to infinity.

But from this, he introduces another manner of distinction, calling it according to quality: "That the essence of God, as the holy beings, transcends, while the energy, as the unholy beings, is transcended." He claims that they construct this from two sayings of the great Dionysius, and this is entirely contrary to the intent of the saint. One saying is from Dionysius' response to Gaius, where he resolves the difficulty raised by Gaius, who asked his teacher, "How is He beyond all and above thearchy and agatharchy?" and demonstrates that agatharchy and thearchy refer to our relation and imitation of God. For we imitate God, not He us, which is the beginning of being deified and made good. The deified and made good, according to which they are deified and made good, and he concludes: "He who is beyond every principle is also beyond the so-called divinity and goodness, as thearchy and agatharchy, insofar as the unimitatable and unrelated transcends imitations and relations and those who imitate and participate." The other saying clarifies: "How is He called holy of holies, God of gods, Lord of lords, and King of kings?" and shows the transcendence in saying this, that insofar as the holy or divine or lordly or kingly beings transcend the unholy, so much more does the unparticipated cause transcend all beings and all participants and participations.

Having set forth the second saying in full, he distorts the manner of transcendence, claiming that they said the essence of God transcends, as the holy beings, and the energy is transcended, as the unholy beings. You, then, are babbling these things, not we, as the Synod would say, and your blasphemy turns against your own head. For you slander us no less than the teacher, just as you have done in

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the past by slandering the great Athanasius. For as you wrongly combined what is according to nature and beyond will from the words of the great one, so here you wrongly transferred the transcendence of the holy beings over the unholy to the divine essence and energy, not sparing even their words to blaspheme. After again bringing forward many of Palamas' words for slander, you add: "Another manner of transcendence appears: as much as creatures are below the participations in which they participate, so much are these participations below the essence of God. This is clear both from the saying and from the construction of the doctrines of their father, Palamas." But this, along with impiety, contains much folly.

Alas, the secure theologian, who just now was tearing apart Palamas' words, now condemns the great Dionysius for impiety and folly, and he determines that the impiety is clear not only from the construction but also from the saying itself. For if he is the one who spoke the analogy of transcendence, how would he not be guilty of the charges of impiety, O most impious and foolish one? And how much better it would have been to examine the saying more carefully and, with a little effort, to enter into the great one's intent, guided by the truth itself, rather than, blinded by passion and guided by madness, to plunge yourself into the depths of impiety, thus boldly charging the theologians with impiety.

Come then, let us again, for the fathers of the Synod added nothing here, proceeding to what was urgent, examine the saying and unfold the meaning of the great one. For intending to hymn the divine essence insofar as it is simply and absolutely alone—this is clear from what has been written before, which the divine Maximus in the aforementioned chapters a little earlier places above all participated and participating things—he almost here inserts the same thing, agreeing with the words themselves, except that instead of "infinitely above," as he used there, he introduces the analogy here, saying that as

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much as the holy beings transcend the unholy, it is clear that they do so infinitely. For the opposites of the participants are the self-participations (it is clear that they are infinitely above; for the former are uncreated, the latter created), and to that extent the unparticipated cause transcends all these, understood as below, since they are related to one another, that is, infinitely above according to essence. Thus the theologians remain in harmony with themselves and with the truth, and the Synod again has rightly used all these. But you, wretch, leaving no distinction between the participations and the participants, since you dogmatize that both are created, say nothing else than—to also speak somewhat wildly, following your hypotheses—that as much as the self-participations transcend the participants (it is clear that it is nothing, since both are created), to that extent the unparticipated transcends both, it is clear that this is also nothing. Therefore, according to your words, God is also a creature, and thus, wishing to slander Palamas and the Synod, you have become an evil creature and have lost God, shipwrecking your faith in a little while.

These things, then, concerning the second saying, he has maliciously distorted against itself. But the first saying, since it did not serve his purpose, the patricide has cut short, placing it half-cut where he thought it would give him some handle. Therefore, let us again fill it out, we who care no less for the truth than for the honor of the fathers. For the holy Dionysius says to Gaius, who asked: "How is He beyond all and above thearchy and agatharchy? If you understand divinity and goodness, the very matter of the divinizing and good-making gift and the unimitatable imitation of the hyper-divine and hyper-good, according to which we are deified and made good—for this becomes the beginning of being deified and made good for the deified and made good—He who is beyond every principle is also beyond the so-called divinity and goodness, as thearchy and agatharchy, insofar as the unimitatable and unrelated

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transcends imitations and relations and those who imitate and participate."

See here the theologian, calling the divinizing gift a thing or matter, which you yourself previously forbade, and thearchy or theosis and divinity. But you, passing over these as if they were not said, attach to the imitation and the act of imitation and our relation and imitation of God the names of thearchy and divinity, very solemnly and demonstratively, since we imitate God, not He us. Therefore, O marvelous one, do you think that this thearchy is some natural suitability of ours or something acquired through effort and study, and, as it seems, not only a creature but even a creature of a creature? Alas, do you then dogmatize that divinity is such? Are you not, then, the one who introduces many divinities and so greatly differing? But hear the most divine Maximus saying: "We suffer deification as something beyond nature by grace, but we do not make deification; for we do not have by nature a receptive power for deification." And again in his theological contemplation: "If it were an ecstasy, it would not be paradoxical what happens, if deification were according to the receptive power of nature; for it would reasonably be a work of nature. But deification will be a gift of God, and such a one will be able to be God by nature and will be properly called so; for nothing else is established than the natural power of each being, which is the unalterable movement of nature toward energy. But how deification also transports the deified out of himself, if it is contained within the limits of nature, I cannot understand."

That deification is not by nature, nor according to our suitability and effort, these things are sufficient for proof, though there are more. That it is also ungenerated and uncreated, the same one again clearly declares in his scholia on his own works, saying: "This is the gospel of God, the embassy and exhortation of God to men through the Son incarnate, and the gift of reward to those who

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obey Him, the ungenerated deification. By ungenerated deification, I mean the hypostatic illumination according to form, which has no generation, but is an unimagined manifestation in the worthy." And in his contemplations, the same one again: "Without father, without mother, and without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life," the great Melchizedek is recorded, as the true account of the God-bearing men has made clear concerning him, not because of his created nature and from non-being, according to which he began and ceased to be, but because of the divine and uncreated grace, which is always above every nature and time, from the ever-existing God.

And how is it not uncreated and without beginning, since it also makes those who participate in it without beginning and without end? For he says again concerning the same: "Melchizedek became without beginning and without end, no longer bearing in himself the temporal life, which has beginning and end and is troubled by many passions, but only the divine and eternal life of the indwelling Word, which is ended by no death." And again: "The word of eternal well-being comes by grace to the worthy, bringing God, who is above every beginning and end by nature, making those who have beginning and end by nature without beginning and without end by grace." But how is the same deification called both a relation and also an imitation and an image? A relation, as to the deified and made good, and to distinguish it from the unrelated essence understood in itself; an imitation, as through it we are made imitations or likenesses of God; and an image, as according to it we are formed and, so to speak, imaged.

"For true and most desirable beauty," says the great Basil in his Psalms, "which is contemplated only by the purified mind, is that which pertains to the divine and blessed nature, not that which, gazing at the sparkles and graces, partakes of something from it, as if

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from some dye, imparting some flowery brightness to its own appearance." Hence the unimitatable is also added to the imitation; for never will human virtue and goodness attain to that of God, even if it is ever formed according to it. But if, according to you, it is a relation and created and outside of God, to what would it be a relation, tell me? For a relation is of the related; but you have heard that God is unrelated, insofar as He is. Thus you have entirely alienated God from His creatures, appearing truly as a wretched and ungrateful creature, so that even the great Basil again rebukes you not a little in his *Antirrhetics*, saying thus: "Wretched in every way are the things made by God, and falling short of the glory of the Creator according to created nature, if they do not participate in divinity. Unworthy also is the account concerning God, as if He left His creation naked and desolate of Himself. But neither is creation so wretched, nor is God so powerless, as not to send forth the holy communication to creation." But how, being only from us toward God, as you define it, is the same called an unimitatable imitation? For you will not easily find a way to explain this. Such an interpreter of the holy theologians and the Synod you have shown yourself to be.

But let us proceed to what follows, having noted again that what he set forth from the dialogue between the Barlaamite and the Orthodox to slander the great Gregory is found there thus: "But the great Dionysius must also be brought forward; for he more clearly than others calls the deification of God divinity and the essence transcending it."

Another manner they have devised by looking to creation: that the divine energy is productive of things outside, while the divine essence is productive of nothing outside. But we, O best one, do not set the divine energy against the divine essence, nor do we divide them into parts, as if to banish the one from what pertains to us, as you babble, and to introduce the other. But in harmony with the

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theologians, we say that the divine essence does not produce the works from itself (for thus they would be consubstantial with God), but from the energy naturally and essentially united with it and entirely inseparable, or rather, we say that God through His own energy creates, sustains, and provides, just as an artisan does not create from his own essence but from the artistic power inherent in him and through it works the works of art. These things the Tome clearly and at length discusses, and the great Athanasius testifies, writing: "The Father and the Son do not work according to one and another providence, but according to one and the same essential energy of the Godhead." And the divine Cyril in the Treasures: "To make is of energy, to beget is of nature, but nature and energy are not the same." And the great Basil again: "What is made is not from the essence of the maker." And the God-bearing Damascene: "Creation, though it came to be afterward, is not from the essence of God," and again: "Creation and making are external, and what is created and made does not come to be from the essence of the creator and maker, being entirely unlike." And the divine Maximus in his scholia on St. Dionysius: "He calls the divine energy here a procession, which brought forth every substance."

To think, then, that the works are from the divine essence, besides other absurdities, also makes it changeable, which the divine Synod charged against Origen, saying: "Origen says that God, having come from not creating to creating, was altogether changed from one state to another. But we say that He was not changed according to nature, but according to energy, or rather not even according to it; for He always had the power to create and make, but this power was energized when God willed."

Very well, but why set forth what follows for refutation, since it is full of all nonsense and comedy and has nothing strong from any quarter, not even seemingly? The impiety of the writer is so evident

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that even one who approaches with understanding would flee from it at first glance. For from what he charges against the Synod and Palamas, he is clearly shown to be impiously and ignorantly bringing forth creatures not only from the essence of God but also, it seems, thinking the divine essence itself to be participable, in agreement with the Messalians, whom the divine Synod rebukes, saying: "There is some visitation of the Paraclete, and God dwells in the worthy, but not as the divinity has the nature. But what seems to them, the noble one, ashamed to say the same, attaches the blame to the Synod from another quarter, and taking a saying of the holy Palamas, he twists it and slanders them as saying the divine essence is corruptible. What is the saying? 'The very divine nature itself, participated in, will either suffer mixture or, having consumed the passible nature, will arrive before it is received,' and he adds, reasoning, 'But to say that it consumes this mortal nature, to what else but the corruptor should it be attributed?' And a little later: 'From these, many and no small absurdities concerning the incarnation of the God-Word are gathered. For since the blessed and ever-virgin Theotokos, having borrowed from her own all-pure and virginal blood for the God-Word flesh, and having conceived, carried, and given birth to the God-man Word, was not consumed or corrupted, as they say, she did not conceive that very Word of God, but the hypostatic energy.' And further concerning the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of the Savior, not a few or small absurdities arise according to them.

Do you, then, think that the God-Word comes to be in us in the same way as in the blessed Virgin, and do you differ in nothing from the so-called Bogomil heretics, who call those whom they consider God-bearing, Theotokoi? But hear the most theological of the Gregories clearly teaching the difference: 'For Christ,' he says, 'because of His divinity—for this is the anointing of His humanity—sanctifies not by energy, as the other christs, but by the presence of the

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whole anointing one.' And the great Athanasius says: 'As the Spirit and the power of the Highest were promised to the apostles, so also to the Virgin. And if in the apostles no incarnation followed, it is clear that neither in the Virgin was the power incarnate, nor did the Spirit become man.' And a little later: 'The Virgin was filled with power and the Spirit for the sanctification of her flesh and to be able to bear the saving child. And thus, accordingly, in her, not by power and energy, but according to the whole fullness of the Godhead, the very arch-divine and hyper-archic hypostasis of the Son of God was incarnate and became man. For it was previously shown that, just as authority and kingdom and all the other things that are set forth in theology are not each called a hypostasis, but are interpreted as pertaining to the hypostasis according to essence, so also power and energy are essentially referred to the hypostasis.'

And the God-bearing Maximus in his scholia on St. Dionysius: 'The order of the holy thrones is called God-bearing, as bearing and resting intellectually upon God. But the flesh of the Lord is called God-bearing, as bearing the God-Word according to an indivisible union, being properly and truly called and existing as His flesh. But these, as has been said, have God in themselves not according to essence but according to grace, and for this reason they are also called God-bearing.' And the Golden-Mouthed in his interpretation of the Psalms: 'Having given the pledge of the Spirit in our hearts, he speaks of the part of the energy; for the Paraclete is not divided.'

You hear how in the holy Virgin the very hypostasis of the Son of God came to be, whence He was incarnate and became man, but in the apostles and all others, some energy or power, or part of the energy, or even having first sanctified the Virgin, whence necessarily no incarnation followed in them, but how does 'He who is everywhere present and fills all things' come to be in the Virgin? And

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how is this very thing everywhere present? Tell me first, and I will tell you the second. For that it is incomprehensible, the Golden-Tongued is a witness, saying in the first *On the Incomprehensible*: 'I will confess to You that You are fearfully wonderful; I thank You for this, that I have an incomprehensible Master,' not speaking here of essence, for that, as confessed, he passed over as incomprehensible, but concerning the omnipresence of God, he says this, showing that he does not know how He is everywhere present. And how, again, of the omnipresent one, do the participants partake not of the essence but of the energy? And how do they also lose it, tell me, if it were not energy that is participated? For to say that the divine essence is added and removed is beyond all absurdity. That they lose it, Saul is a witness, having not only lost the good energy but also taken on the opposite. And David is a witness, singing to God: 'Take not Your Holy Spirit from me.' These things the Damascene John theologizes, saying: 'God is mingled with all according to the sustaining power of the nature in each, but the Son and God is mingled with the assumption according to hypostasis.'

And the marvelous Gregory philosophizes in his discourse *To Akindynos*, from whom you, having cut off the saying, brought it forth not so much against him as against yourself. For he says: 'These things are sufficient to persuade that neither is the grace and energy of the Spirit given and received by the graced ones created, for it is the Holy Spirit itself, nor is it the essence of the Spirit, for God gives His own essence to no one, nor can it be received by anyone without proving the receiver to be of two natures, composed, that is, of divine and human nature, and this if it were united to it according to hypostasis, which is impossible, both pre-existing and each of the composed having its own hypostasis. Therefore, the Son of God, taking from us not a hypostasis but a nature, was united to it according to hypostasis. For the nature united according to itself will

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necessarily suffer mixture and will act and be acted upon. These things, then, and the united heteroousia have the union concerning them unconfusedly. The very divine nature itself, therefore, participated in and received, will either suffer mixture or, having consumed the passible nature, will arrive before it is received. This, indeed, and more: for no one, He says, will see My face and live, and no one has stood in the substance and essence of the Lord, as it is written, and no one has seen or declared the nature or form of God.' If no one can endure the vision, how participation? Therefore, the God-bearing fathers declared God according to essence to be entirely unparticipated and incomprehensible.

Do you see how this new theologian truly adheres to theological precision throughout and to the confession and harmony with the divine fathers? For he has not even placed this charge against us from himself, but having heard the God-bearing father Basil say: "Ezekiel saw the likeness of the glory and not the glory itself, and he fell to the ground from fear. If the likeness of the glory, when seen, caused fear and anguish in men, if someone were to behold God Himself, he would certainly perish, as it is said, 'No one shall see God and live.'"

And how is it not irrational to seek precision in hypothetical statements? For if you say that it is possible for the essence of God to be participated in or seen, say it clearly, and there will no longer be any argument between us, since you stand with the Messalians and oppose the saints. This is what the God-bearing confessor Maximus says: "He who is not present in beings according to essence but wishes to be participated in by those who are able, in another manner, does not depart at all from the secrecy according to essence." And the most divine Cyril, clearly declaring: "God is seen according to energies, not according to essence." But if up to this point you respect piety and avoid impiety, why do you scrutinize the absurdities that follow from

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what is said hypothetically? For not only this, but many other absurdities arise from this one hypothesis, such as that the divine essence is divided and is participated in more by some and less by others, that it is added and removed, that it is given and sent and poured out, and this to some at a time and for a reason, that it is imparted to those who have not yet partaken by those who have previously partaken, and moreover, that each of the participants would have to be composed of two essences, like the Savior Christ, if the participated were essence. To these let this also be added, which you yourself drive at, that it "consumes the passible nature before it is received." For not theologizing and dogmatizing, but as if adding an absurdity, and this showing the divine transcendence, out of piety, not from an absurd opinion, the blessed one said what he said. Just as, therefore, it is with that theological saying: "That the uncontainable might be contained, at least moderately, by created nature and as far as is safe."

However, what concerns the Theotokos must be set apart from all discussion, being the most supernatural wonder of all wonders from eternity and above all understanding. For in her, truly, God wished to demonstrate His omnipotence, except that even she was purified beforehand by a more abundant grace of the Holy Spirit and divine power. "For the Virgin," says the great Athanasius, "was filled with power and the Spirit for the sanctification of her flesh and to be able to bear the saving child. For not only against wickedness, but also against created nature in general, God is said to be 'a consuming fire.'" And the inspired hymnographer from Damascus sings to the all-blameless Virgin: "The bush on the mountain, burning with fire and the dew-bearing furnace of the Chaldeans, clearly prefigures you, O bride of God; for you received the immaterial divine fire in a material womb without being consumed." And in the troparia for the Feast of Lights, as if from the Jordan: "I cannot bear,"

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it says, "the consuming fire." And the divine Cosmas, as if from the Forerunner: "That I, the water, might wash you, the radiance of the glory of the Father, the eternal image, and being grass, might touch the fire of your divinity."

But if corruption is not the complete destruction of essence, but the change into another form, what is the absurdity if, according to this reasoning, someone were to say that the divine nature is corruptible? For the one who said this shows a certain superabundance of power, just as fire, by an excess of power, consumes a great amount of material in a short time, not changing it into non-being, but pouring it into air through evaporation. But if neither the blessed Virgin was corrupted, nor the Baptist when he touched, nor anyone else, but they were preserved by another power, the sustaining and guarding power, under which even Moses was sheltered, "the hand of God" being called metaphorically, he saw His back, the reasons of beings, the vision of His face, which is the essence, being entirely forbidden, even though he asked so much and was so intimate. For the powers in God do not act irrationally, like the burning power in fire, which is simple and irrational, but they are measured by His will for the economy of created nature. But even this reasoning has led us around. For how will you receive the varied disposition of God, as of members, in Scripture, if not according to the powers and energies naturally inherent in Him? For surely hands and feet, eyes and heart and mouth and lips and the rest of the members are not bodily present in God. "For I will behold," says the Golden-Mouthed, "the heavens, the works of Your fingers," not that God has fingers, but showing the visible works of the least energy.

What we were saying, that God is present to all, or rather, is in all, but not as mingled with all, nor as united and becoming one with them or being participated in by them—for this is given to the saints alone, purified to the utmost, and to them the manner is

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unknown, only this much is known, that the participation is not according to essence but according to some divine energy and grace. To say the same thing, according to what is naturally and eternally inherent in the eternal God: "For the kingdom of God," says Maximus, the truly great one, "is the communication of the good things naturally inherent in God by grace." And the same one again: "All that God is, the one who has been deified by grace will also be, except for the identity according to essence."

But let these things be said to this extent. Concerning the mysteries, who does not know that the grace of the Spirit, descending, according to the holy theologians, "even in the Virgin, prepared the God-bearing flesh," as the great Basil says, "transforms these into that deified body and blood. For this the priest also calls from above, and the Golden-Mouthed is a witness, saying in his discourse on the priesthood: "The priest stands, not bringing down fire, but the Holy Spirit and the supplication he makes for a long time, not that some lamp from above might be let down to consume the offerings, but that the grace falling on the sacrifice might through it kindle the souls of all and show them brighter than silver, having been purified." And a little later: "Do you not know that never would a human soul have borne that fire of the sacrifice, but all would have been utterly destroyed, if there had not been much help from the grace of God?" Therefore, not according to us and our opinion, but according to you and yours, not a few or small absurdities arise. For if the grace of the Spirit is not something other than His hypostasis, how is it that it descends, while the body is created and now transformed by the hypostasis of the Word? It follows either that it is not this but the hypostasis of the Spirit that was incarnate, which none of the impious heretics has dared to say, or some Sabellian confusion and dissolution of the Son and the Spirit occurring in the same, but not so with us, not so do the leaders of the Church teach. For Chrysostom, the

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theologian, interpreting the psalm, "Grace is poured upon your lips," says: "What is this grace, through which He taught, through which He worked wonders? He calls grace here that which came upon the flesh, 'upon whom you see the Spirit descending like a dove and remaining on Him, this is the Son of God.' For all grace was poured out into that temple, for He does not give the Spirit to Him by measure, but the temple received the whole grace. But we have received a little and a drop from that grace, for 'from His fullness,' it says, 'we have all received,' as one might say, from the overflowing, from the superabundance."

And the great Basil in his twelfth letter to Amphilochius: "Through the Holy Spirit to become a partaker of the grace of Christ, to be called a child of light, to partake of eternal glory." You hear above and below the teachers saying that the grace of the Spirit was that which was poured out into that temple and through it is imparted to us. For even if it is said that 'all the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Him bodily,' yet not so as to make the paternal hypostasis or that of the Spirit occur in the same and consequently either be co-incarnate or mingled with one another according to the madness of Sabellius. "For the hypostasis of the Son," says the divine Anastasius of Sinai, "having been incarnate, did not co-incarnate with itself the unbegottenness of the Father, nor the processional hypostasis of the divine Spirit, but since all the natural properties of the Trinity, that is, the unbegotten, the uncreated, the uncircumscribed, the unchangeable, the undivided, the good, the life-giving, and all such things, are seen in the Son without variation and equally and similarly as in the Father and in the Holy Spirit, for this reason it is said, 'all the fullness of the Godhead dwells in Him,' and according to this the Christ is said to be perfect in divinity." And a little later: "Therefore, by the natural properties, 'all the fullness of the Godhead,' as indeed also of the humanity, is seen in Christ."

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This, therefore, is the common grace of the Trinity, which is naturally and eternally inherent in the one and eternal nature, which was then poured out into that temple and dwelt there; now it transforms the bread into the body hypostatically united to the God-Word and through it is again imparted and sanctifies the participants. And thus no absurdity follows from these things being thus believed, but every absurdity is removed and put away.

"They, therefore, attributing all to the energy, accordingly call it properly divinity and life and wisdom and the others without separation; and through it they believe that the divine essence also is and is called these things." And very consistently, I would say, not only with what has been previously demonstrated, but also with all the theologians and the truth itself; even if you do not understand these things as you should. For if the divine essence is entirely incomprehensible and unparticipated, unnamed and above every name, as the theologians hymn, how would it not be, if something is named from the energy inseparably united to it, which is also received and participated in and seen and named, yet by grace—for this reason it is also called grace—how would it not be named? But that these things are not ours, let the theologians again come forward, confirming what has been said by themselves. For the divine Dionysius says in his work *On Unified and Distinct Theology*: "If we name the hyper-essential hiddenness God or life or essence or light or word, we understand nothing other than the powers proceeding from it to us, deifying or essence-making or life-giving or wisdom-giving; but to it, according to the release from all intellectual energies, we attribute."

And the same one again: "God is power, as precontaining and transcending all power in Himself." And Gregory of Nyssa in his *Against Eunomius*: "We have understood that the voice of God has prevailed from the visionary energy, so that even through this we are

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taught some partial energy of the divine nature, but we have not come to the conception of the essence itself through this voice." And the great Basil in his letter to Eustathius: "The identity of the energy in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit clearly shows the invariability of the nature, so that even if the name of divinity signifies nature, it is properly applied also to the Holy Spirit, the commonality of the essence is composed, but I do not know how they bring the appellation of divinity to the indication of the nature, those who construct everything."

And a little later: "Therefore, the appellation brings the indication of some authority, whether visionary or energetic; but the divine nature remains unsignified in all the names conceived, as our discourse." And the same one again: "Whether, therefore, the name of divinity is a name of energy, as one energy of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, so we say that there is also one divinity; or even according to the opinions of many, the name of divinity is indicative of nature, because it finds no variation in the nature, not unfittingly do we define the holy Trinity as one divinity." And in the first book *Against Eunomius*: "What exceptional thing will they leave for the knowledge of the Only-Begotten or the Holy Spirit, if they themselves have the comprehension of the essence itself? For surely, attributing the contemplation of the power and goodness and wisdom of God to the Only-Begotten, they will set the comprehension of the essence proportionate to themselves; for everywhere the opposite, it is likely that the essence is unobservable by all, except by the Only-Begotten and the Holy Spirit, but from the energies of God leading us up and through the works understanding the maker, we receive the understanding of His goodness and wisdom; for this is 'the known of God, which God has manifested to all men.'"

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And the divine Anastasius of Sinai in the book called *The Guide*: "The name God does not signify the essence of the divinity, for this is incomprehensible and unnamed, but He is called God from His contemplative energy, as the saint Dionysius says." What then, wretch, leaving the saints, do you accuse Palamas and the patriarchs? For they hardly depart in a single word from what has been theologized by them. For what is here taken as from the letter to Cyzicus is not found there at all, but the stranger to the Church, first calling us first and second patriarch, O shameless one! But not first and second, O patricide and heir of anathema, but each of these is many times removed and the genuine successor of those holy hierarchs, in the splendor of life and the accuracy of doctrines. For to those ancient ones, as in all things agreeing, the things said refer, but let us also set forth some of those who have recently shone in this throne with the power of word and spirit, that we may see if they are not all of one mind and of the same opinion and standing for the same things with them. For Germanus, the divine one, called new because of his homonymy with that ancient one, writing to the Latins, having first read the things foretold by the great Athanasius in his homily on the Annunciation, adds: "You see how, when the fathers say that the Holy Spirit descends and dwells in the saints, they do not say the hypostasis itself, but the grace."

And a little later, setting forth again the words of the divine Cyril: "Releasing the sins of the one attached to Him, He anoints him with His own Spirit; which He Himself, the Word from God the Father, pours out and causes to spring up from His own nature for us," he adds: "Here the grace and energy of the blessed Trinity, he says, proceeding from the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and as the prophet himself says, 'I will pour out of My Spirit,' that from the identity of the energy He might also present the identity of the essence." And Gregory, who adorned the same throne of the queen

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from Cyprus, stretching out against the Latin-minded Beccus, says this: "It is not possible, O this one, for the divine essence to be comprehensible to us; for if the six-winged Seraphim do not at all endure to bear the radiance and brightness sent forth from the divine nature, how is it reasonable that our material mortal nature should be receptive of the divine essence itself? Once this has been granted to us, in the ineffable and incomprehensible and supernatural union of the God-Word, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, by the good pleasure of the Father and the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, and our Lord Jesus Christ bore two natures in Himself, divinity and humanity, but to us the better things are supplied, not the essence and hypostasis of the all-holy Spirit—for the divine essence is not comprehensible and divisible and varied; for it is simple and entirely unrelated and unparticipated—but the divine and good-making and single radiance and grace and energy of the all-holy Spirit, which simply and impartibly and identically and wholly and singly always springs from the hyper-divine one tri-hypostatic nature, and this varied and divided indivisibly in the divisible; for according to the measure of each one's virtue, the better ones draw it; and some more, others less receive it and are called gods from it by grace and participation. And this divine radiance and grace, energy and gift of the all-holy Spirit, the divine Scriptures also name the Holy Spirit, but also divinity and God and deifying; for in the simple and incorporeal nature, the same account applies to the essence and the energy, as the great Basil says in the *Antirrhetics*, since we also call the sun itself the solar disk, but also the radiance and energy sent from it."

What do you think these things differ from what has now been said by Palamas and the patriarchs? Are they not moved by the same Spirit, dogmatizing the same things about the same things? But let us consider what follows. They seem to have arrived at this religion from not believing that God Himself, by one power, is able to bring

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forth all things and govern and save by the same, through supreme perfection and simplicity and unity, but by this one thing and through another another, and from that that. For the one who completed for them the patriarch, as has been said, the third, in what he set forth in chapters, in the eighth of these, says: "The names said and written about God are names of His divine energies, that is, God has power and energy working in all living things, whether you speak of human life or divine life, and that energy is called the life of God; He has power and energy in the enlightened, the light, and that energy is called light; before these, similarly, He has power and energy working in the deified, the deification, and that energy is called divinity." Therefore, when they say that these are distinguished from one another, they name them in the plural divine energies and divinities, but when unitedly, just as we are accustomed to call the whole one world, they make the discourse about one energy, therefore they also seek in the fourth of their questions, if indeed the voice of divinity is hymned not only about the essence but also about the energy. From what he has said, that God has energy working in all living things, whether you speak of human life or divine life, it is clear that they glorify that the life of God and human life are energized by the same and one energy, and the wisdom of God and human wisdom are made wise by the same and one wisdom, and the others similarly; for this is what they mean in the confession of the Tome, that both to energize and to be energized can be said not only of created things but also of eternal and uncreated things. From these, therefore, as if piling them up into one cosmos, they say that this is the inheritance of all the righteous.

I have deliberately elaborated on these matters at length so that the malice, incoherence, and absurdity of this contemptible individual may be clearly demonstrated. For just as one who composes riddles or speaks to a crowd of youths playing in the marketplace, so

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does he weave his arguments, focusing solely on this one aim and striving to ensnare his listeners with the clamor of his words, thereby surrounding us, as it were, with many apparent absurdities. Yet I believe that none of this escapes the notice of those who are not entirely distracted by other concerns. Two things, in particular, are worthy of attention: the extreme vanity evident in his words, by which he pretends to be ignorant of nothing said by his opponents, and at the same time, the corruption of his judgment concerning his own doctrine. For let anyone who possesses sound faith consider what compelled him, after proposing certain things at the outset, to chatter about such matters in the middle of his discourse. As for me, when engaging in dialogue with him, I would never have mentioned the writings of Gregory or Kydones or any others of their kind, for I would have abhorred even to glance at such things, much less to take them up and hastily cast them aside, had not the necessity of refutation compelled me to address them. I believe that every devout person would feel the same. But this wretched man, being evidently unstable in his own beliefs, seeks to find truth not among his opponents but elsewhere, and finding nothing, he plunders their words and uses them as material for slander, all the while seeking to gain a reputation for erudition. Thus, the miserable man endures, transforming himself like that Proteus of old, not merely misinterpreting but perverting everything into contrary and strange notions, playing in matters that are no game—or rather, being played with and becoming an object of ridicule himself, so that he might cast blame on others.

He imagines, then, that God wonderfully brings all things into being, governs, and saves them by a single power, and yet he strangely contradicts the patriarch, who speaks of "various powers and energies," as though, unless the patriarch were to say that God brings all things into being through Himself, he would be introducing a

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composite or imperfect God or one not in precise harmony with the saints. For perhaps this man, hearing of "powers," thinks of them as parts supplementing the divine essence or as other substances existing externally alongside God, like the angelic powers which God might employ as helpers. But, O most excellent one, it was not the patriarch who first spoke of powers, nor did he introduce them on his own authority. Rather, he took them from certain sources, as has already been said and will be said again. For Gregory the Theologian, the namesake of theology, says: "I considered the sun, its ray, and its light, but even here I fear lest we make the Father a substance and fail to hypostasize the others, but instead make them powers of God, existing within Him but not hypostasized."

Do you hear the voice of the Theologian calling them "powers of God," existing within Him but not hypostasized, to which the ray and the light are more appropriately said to belong? And what of the divine Dionysius when he says: "God is called Power as He contains and transcends all power"? And what when he says: "To conceive of God as life or substance or light or Word is to conceive of nothing other than the powers proceeding from God to us, which deify, substantiate, give life, or bestow wisdom"?

And the great Athanasius, in his *Against the Hellenes*, says: "The almighty and perfect Word of the Father, having come upon all things and everywhere extended His powers, holds and binds all things together in Himself."

Do these men, then, who speak of many powers in and from God, think of God as composite or imperfect or as not bringing all things into being through Himself? How, then, does God bring all things into being, govern, and save them by a single power? Is it because by His creative power He not only creates but also provides, and by His providential power He not only provides but also creates, and so by all powers He does all things, or by one of these powers He

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does all things, or by another power besides these? If by all powers He does all things, then there are many powers; but if by one of these, consider which one you will assign to all things. For by the creative power, you have heard that God rested from all His works and no longer acts according to it, unless He should will to work a miracle. But by the providential and sustaining power, you hear the Savior saying: "My Father is working until now, and I am working." Which of these, then, or of the others, will you choose, since they are so different? But if by another power besides these, it would be absurd for a non-creative power to create or a non-providential power to provide, yet it would still be a power distinct from the divine essence, even if it does not harm the unity. How, then, having heard of a human life and a divine life activated by the divine power, did he conclude that the divine life is that by which God lives?

"For it is clear," he says, "that both the life of God and human life are activated by the same and single energy."

Has this man become so confused in his mind, in matters where he presumes to theologize and expound doctrines, that he does not even understand what he is saying? For it is clear even to those with little understanding that the patriarch spoke of a divine life, not that by which God lives, but that by which men live divinely, which is not according to nature but supernaturally added to this temporal life. For whether you speak of human life, by which we live according to nature, or of divine life, by which those deemed worthy live beyond nature, both are activated by the one and the same life-giving power and energy of God, which distributes itself variously according to the disposition of those who receive it, so that some partake of it merely to exist, others to exist well, and still others to exist eternally well, having become gods by grace and divine ordinance.

"For the Holy Spirit," says the great Basil in his *Against Eunomius*, "is inaccessible by nature but made accessible by goodness,

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filling all things by His power but shared only by the worthy, not in one measure but according to the proportion of faith, dividing the energy. Simple in essence, varied in powers, wholly present to each and wholly everywhere, impartially distributed and wholly shared, like the image of the sun's ray, whose grace, present to the one who enjoys it as if to him alone, shines on the earth, the sea, and is mingled with the air."

And again in the same work: "That which was moved by an eternal movement by the Holy Spirit became a holy living being. Man was deemed worthy to receive the Holy Spirit within himself, becoming a prophet, an apostle, an angel of God, whereas before he was dust and ashes."

And again: "When the Spirit sends forth life into another hypostasis, it is not separated from Him, but just as fire has its inherent heat and also the heat it imparts to water or the like, so also the Spirit both has life in Himself and those who partake of Him live in a godly manner, possessing divine and heavenly life."

What clearer images or more precise proofs of the divine powers and energies could one seek than these? For just as the sun's heating power, proceeding through its ray, as the great Dionysius says, variously activates and shines as a single light upon those who partake of it, renewing, nourishing, guarding, perfecting, distinguishing, uniting, warming, making fruitful, increasing, transforming, establishing, producing, stirring, and giving life to all things, and each thing partakes of the same and one sun through its ray according to its own nature, so also the life-giving and life-creating power of God, indivisibly divided, gives life to all things according to their own nature. And just as it is said to act inseparably from God (for God also acts according to it), so also it is said to be activated in those who partake of it variously, just as the skill in the craftsman both acts in the

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craftsman concerning his works and is activated again in those works when it is received.

"For God always had the power to create," you have heard the Sixth Council say, "but this power was activated when God willed."

And so there is nothing absurd in saying that the same power both acts and is activated. This, then, is the pure doctrine of our faith, and not the babbling of this madman. He accuses us not only of speaking of the divine powers and energies in the plural but also of piling them up, as though we were calling them a kind of ordered arrangement and a single energy. For it seems he has turned his mind to the Platonic ideas and thinks that we posit the divine powers as something like them, not realizing, due to the madness that possesses him, that an ordered arrangement and a system can be spoken of concerning things that exist in themselves, not in another, and that too naturally and eternally. For the powers of God, existing in Him uniquely and timelessly in an ineffable unity, are brought forth in time and multiplied according to the image of the sun's ray, as the theologians say, into the manifold variety of creation. From themselves, they have both unity, insofar as they are called one energy, and distinction, insofar as they are many—the former in respect to the subject, since the energy is one with the essence, and the latter in respect to temporal division. For divisions, as the Apostle says, "are of gifts, but the same Spirit." And nothing of ours requires either distinction, as this madman thinks, or piling up. Let him also hear the divine Maximus theologizing about the procession of the energies, for he says in his Letter to John the Synkellos:

"We, according to the divine fathers, know that in the one and the same Christ there are many and innumerable divine and human energies, but one divine energy, from which the many divine energies proceed, and one human energy, from which the many human energies proceed. For we know one divine energy of His as

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God according to essence, which the Father also has by nature and the Holy Spirit, from which, as I said, the many and innumerable divine energies properly proceed. For from this one energy come the energies according to creation, providence, judgment, preservation, the generation and procession of beings, and all the divine and infinite energies."

And again: "Energies are not substances, nor do they exist by themselves, but they are in the essence and without it they have no being."

But lest I weary you by running through the intermediate points where he babbles his usual nonsense and openly reveals himself as a Massalian, thinking the essence of God to be participable, he finally fabricates a mode of difference out of slander, as a kind of device against us, and hurls it at us: "For they have dared this also," he says, "that the essence is immortal through itself, but the energy, though immortal through the essence, is death through itself."

And Palamas says in his *On the Divine and Deifying Participation*: "If they live immortally in this way and have died, and many of those living here are dead, as the Lord of life and death has shown, then there is also a divinity that is death, remaining immortal by nature."

Is it not clear to all from what has now been said that he shakes at us the sounds of words, inventing arguments like some bogeyman? For the slanderer has so corrupted and distorted the matter that it has no relation at all to the argument and harmony there. For so it is also seen to lie there, as both the books testify and the texture of the argument compels. There is, then, also a death of the soul, while it remains immortal by nature. Now, therefore, if you wish, remove from here the mode of difference, you wretch. Whom do you think you will frighten by babbling and fabricating such things? But perhaps you do not hope to frighten, but to deceive those

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who lend you their ears in great folly, and it is no wonder, since the serpent from the beginning hoped and accomplished this.

Thus, according to these and even more modes of difference and opposition, they divide the one God into essence and energy, and then, as though it were not the essence and the non-essential, the hypostatic and the non-hypostatic, the visible and the invisible, and the rest of the opposites that come together into one composition—for a composite is that which is composed of many and different things or that which is completed by many coming together into the same, according to the unerring teaching of the theologians—they insist that no composition arises from the essence of God and what they think to be really different things coexisting with it, contrary to all reason and all teaching of the holy teachers.

He walks in a path, or rather in trackless and wandering ways, turning aside to the greatest charge against them, that of composition, and for this reason he unfolds those long courses, searching out as many modes of difference as possible, so that by greatly separating the energy from the essence and then attempting to join them, he might find the composition appearing as an evil result by some wicked craftsman. From what he here insolently calls the divine energy, he gives no composition, for the non-essential and the non-hypostatic, what composition could it produce? But neither does the non-essential alongside the essence, O sophist, just as neither does the unjust alongside justice, nor the non-hypostatic or wholly non-hypostatic or unhypostatic, nor is there any opposition according to the visible and the invisible, as there is no need to agree, and so also in the rest. If we place the energy as visible in the Spirit according to the theologians and through it God, these things, though blasphemously and impiously, he has said against himself. But he slanders us as thinking that the natural properties of God, which are really different things, coexist with the essence, taking "things" to mean "really

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different." But it is not the same, O devil—for this name suits you best—to be things and to be really different. For we say and think according to the teachers, as has been shown before, that they naturally and essentially and uncreatedly inhere in the essence of God, but we deny that they are really different, as this belongs to things that exist in themselves and not to those distinguished only in thought. Thus, there will be no composition from these in the essence of God, and this according to all the theologians in succession, not only following the letter, Judaically, as you rave, but much more the meanings. For John of Damascus, the most theological, says: "The true word teaches that the divine is simple and has one simple good energy, activating all things in all according to the sun's ray."

And Basil the Great, in his *To Amphilocheus*, as if from the Arians thus: "God is simple," he says, "and everything that you can enumerate as known is of the essence, to which the great man, stretching out, says, "This is a sophism having countless absurdities. For with so many things enumerated, are these names of one essence? And does His fearfulness equal His love for mankind, His justice equal His creativity, His foreknowledge equal His retribution, His majesty equal His providence? Or if we say any of these, do we not signify the essence? For if they say this, let them not ask us if we know the essence of God, but let them ask us if we know God as fearful or just or loving mankind. These we confess to know. If, then, they say the essence is something else, let them not deceive us by simplicity. For they have confessed that the essence and each of the enumerated things are different, but the energies are various, and the essence is simple. We say that we know our God from His energies, but we do not promise to approach His essence. For His energies descend to us, but His essence remains inaccessible."

And in his *Against Eunomius*, the same says: "The modes that indicate the peculiarity of God do not harm the account of

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simplicity, or else all that is said about God will show Him to be composite to us, and as it seems, if we are to preserve the notion of the simple and partless, we will say nothing about God except the unbegotten, and we will refrain from calling Him invisible, incorruptible, unchangeable, creator, judge, and all that we now take up for glorification, or accepting these names, what shall we do? Shall we refer them all to the essence? Then we will show Him not only composite but also composed of unlike parts, since something different is signified by each name. But shall we take them outside the essence? Whatever account, then, they devise for each of these, let them show the same for the name of the unbegotten."

And his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Against Eunomius*, writes: "Who says that God is of two natures except you, who conflate every notion of a name with the essence of the Father and say that nothing is added from outside, but each of the names concerning the divine is grafted onto the essence of God?"

And Gregory the Theologian says: "Are immortality, innocence, and unchangeability the essence of God? If so, there are many essences of God and not one, or the divine is composite, for these are not uncompounded, if they are essences."

Do you see how the teachers not only distinguish the names concerning God from the essence (for, as they say, the essence is one thing, and each of the enumerated things is another), and thus uphold the simplicity of God, but also oppose those who place all these things in the essence, rebuking them for introducing composition? These are the Eunomians, Arians, and, according to you, the present-day Barlaamites. For he says that these things are not uncompounded if they are essences. What, then, will you do? To use their words, will you refer all these things to the essence? This, indeed, you do in many places, following the Eunomians, but in this way, you will prove God not only to be composite but also composed of unlike

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parts, since something different is signified by each name. For nothing prevents repetition, but will you take them outside the essence? This, then, you would rather choose, to abandon your tongue than to agree with the saints and our teachers. Therefore, being unable to speak ill of them, you turn your love of slander against these men and, having insolently set forth the saying of the patriarch, you add: "That these things testify to the great folly of the man, there is no need to say."

But I will present to you the saints, who speak almost the same words. Perhaps in this way, you will cease your madness against him.

"Suppose," says the great Gregory of Nyssa hypothetically, "someone discovered geometry, and let the same person be supposed to have also discovered astronomy, medicine, grammar, agriculture, and other such pursuits. Since the notions of these pursuits are many and diverse, will the soul, therefore, be thought to be composite? Indeed, the meaning of medicine differs greatly from that of astronomy, and grammar has no common meaning with geometry, nor again does navigation with agriculture. Yet it is possible for the account of each of these to be gathered around the one soul, and the soul does not thereby become composite, nor are all the names of the pursuits mixed into one meaning. If, then, the human intellect, through so many names said of it, is not harmed in its simplicity, how could one suppose that God, if He is called wise, just, good, eternal, and all the other godly names, unless one meaning is thought to belong to all the names, would become composite or gather to Himself the perfection of His nature by participation?"

And the divine Maximus, the pinnacle of confessors and philosophers, in his Dialogue with Pyrrhus, says to him: "Do you not see that you err in this, in failing to understand everywhere that compositions belong to things that exist in themselves and not to things contemplated in another? And this is the common opinion of

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all, both the external philosophers and the theologians of the Church who initiate us into the mysteries."

To which of these, tell me, will you attribute the folly? For of the things said by the patriarch, one teacher said one thing, and another said another, which indeed the common opinion of all the teachers and the external wise men has testified to be. You have thus unwittingly revealed yourself as uninitiated in all these things, so that I need say no more, as you dismiss this as foolish.

But concerning these matters, we will discuss them more fully later, where he himself seems to say something. For now, I think the words of the theologians alone suffice for us, standing like trophies against this wicked heresy among others. As for what follows, it would be more fitting to erase it with tears than to refute it with words, so greatly does it exceed all bounds of impiety and slander. For imitating those ancient heretics, and being unable, due to ignorance, to distinguish between polemical and didactic arguments, nor, out of malice or wickedness, presenting the arguments as they are without innovation, he invokes the great Gregory and the fathers around him, whose words are unbearable to hear for those who examine them and contemptible in thought for those who consider their depth. For because they say that God is and is spoken of not only according to essence but also according to energy, in harmony with the saints, this herald of impiety proclaims many gods to the God-loving, and having mutilated and distorted some of their sayings, in which they speak of energy or divine light (for the struggle was also about these), he cries out against them as though they were saying that the energy or light is another God, existing separately and independently, just as if he were to accuse those who call the sun's ray "sun" of introducing two suns, or those who call the intellect "mind" of introducing another mind. But this is not so. For neither do they say there are two suns or two intellects, nor do these men say there are

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two or many gods, even if they mention the energy as God's. For to call the inherent things from those in whom they inhere is to unite, not to divide.

There is, then, one God, understood and spoken of according to essence, power, and energy by the theologians. For it would be paradoxical otherwise, if the things that present the unity of God were to divide Him into many. "For there is one essence," they say, "one power, one energy, one glory, one kingdom, one grace." How, then, can these things, which unite the hypostases (for they are common and natural to the three), be thought to divide and set them apart? But as for the sayings he has put forward, having cut them up and corrupted them, let us set forth the meaning of some of them, so that his malice may be shown even in these. For he introduces Palamas, in the second book of his *Against the Second Barlaam*, which he entitles *Catalogue of the Outrageous Absurdities*, saying thus:

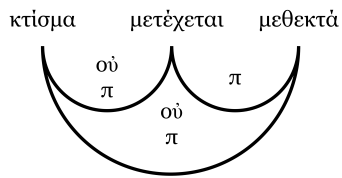
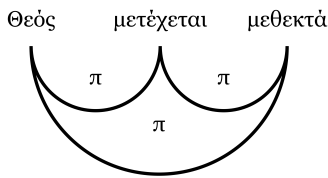
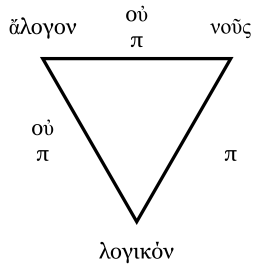
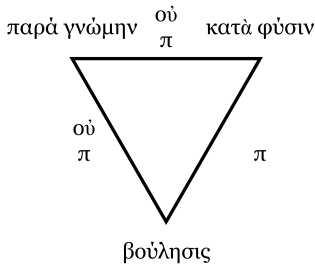
"Nevertheless, since the things that partake of God are many, and the supra-essential essence of God is altogether unparticipated, there must, therefore, be something between the unparticipated essence and the participants, through which these things partake of God." And a little later, "We must, therefore, seek another God, not only self-sufficient, self-acting, and contemplating Himself through Himself, but also good, and simply, we must seek God in such a way as to be participable."

Why, then, has he omitted here the intermediate things and the few things he says? So that he may introduce as Palamas's own opinion the statement, "We must seek another God," supposedly said concerning the energy, whereas Palamas, as following the Barlaamite opinions, has set forth this absurdity, not as his own. And this is clear from what he has omitted. For he says, as objecting to that wretched Barlaam: "O the loss! You have separated us from God, removing the

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bond from the midst and placing 'a great chasm' and an impassable gulf between Him and the creation and governance of created things. 'We must, therefore, seek another God,' and so on." Do you hear how the great man says this to that wretched Barlaam, as though, unless you grant that the same God who is unparticipated in essence is also participable in energies, 'we must seek another God,' to whom the participable also belongs? Such are your clever inventions against us and against the truth, and with such hunting of words did you hope to capture the Church. But as for what he says about light and divine grace and deification, as taken from the words of Palamas, it is superfluous to set them forth here. For when read by themselves by those who understand, they will clearly show his soul-destroying and demonic mindset, and how he utterly disbelieves in all divine participation and manifestation, and entirely separates God from created nature. For the wretch interprets divine things mockingly and impiously attacks the sacred, and the pig tramples the pearls, except that he does not break them against those who spoke them, but breaks himself against them. For his hatred, madness, and envy, by which he is consumed, are evident, especially in what follows, as destructive passions of those who possess them, not only of others. What, then, should one recount in detail all the things the shameless man blames on the innocent, some of which have already been said and refuted? For he does not hesitate to repeat the same things often, so that he may only harm the man's opinion. Others are inherently rotten and ridiculous and need no refutation at all. For having made this his work, to behave indecently in words and, as they say, to dance about, he presents himself as such. Let these things, then, be passed over, and let us proceed to the second part of his discourse, in which he more vigorously defends his own position, using arguments not weak, as he thinks, and adducing not a few things from Scripture.

DIAGRAMS



According to L. Petit, PO. 17, p. 372, littera π, id est πᾶς significatus propositio universalis affirmativa; littera οὐδ, scilicet οὐδέεις, notari solet propositio universalis negativa.

APPENDIX 2
SYLLOGISTIC CHAPTERS BY MARK OF EPHESUS,
AGAINST AKINDYNISTS CONCERNING THE
DISTINCTION BETWEEN OUSIA AND ENERGY¹

1. If the ousia and energy of God are the same, then what comes from the ousia will also come from the energy, and what comes from the energy will come from the ousia. And thus the Son and the Spirit will also be from the energy, and will no longer be only generation and procession, but also energies and effects; while faith will be from the ousia and not only an energy but also a generation. But both of these are impious and foreign to the truth.

2. Moreover, if ousia and energy are the same, it is necessary that God both exist and act in every way and in all respects simultaneously; therefore creation is co-eternal with God who acts from eternity, according to the Greeks.

3. If things that admit the same account are also identical to one another, then Peter and Paul, admitting the same account of man, will also be identical to one another. But they are not; therefore

¹ From Greek Codex Vindobonensis 171, fol. 1-11. See Nessel's Catalogue part I, p. 251. Compare moreover concerning these syllogistic chapters of Mark Eugenikos our Prolegomena p. 11 and Fabricius's Bibliotheca Graeca ed. Harles XI, p. 676.

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neither are ousia and energy, even though they admit the same account of the simple and uncreated and incorporeal, thereby identical to one another. Identity is either by genus or by species or by number; but they would not say that energy is identical to ousia by genus or by species; it remains therefore that they are identical by number, just as in the case of synonyms, as when we say the same thing of God: ousia and form and nature. But one thing has been stated, while another has been passed over in silence, or rather has been explicitly forbidden; for nature and energy according to the divine Cyril are not the same.

4. If the Son alone is the energy of the Father, as seems right to the heretics, and he is also a hypostasis, and energy and ousia are the same according to them, then hypostasis and ousia will be the same; and thus a certain Sabellian confusion will be introduced. If the Son alone is the energy of the Father, but no energy is enhypostatic—that is, subsisting in itself—according to the great St. Basil, the Son will be an unsubsisting energy; but this is the delusion of the heretics Marcellus and Photinus.

5. If Christ, having two natures after the union, also had two energies according to the dogma of the sixth of the ecumenical councils, these are four things: divine nature and human nature, and divine energy and human energy; and just as the human energy is other than the nature, but created from the created, so also the divine energy is other than the nature, but uncreated from the uncreated. The Fathers, fighting against the heretics who deny the human energy in Christ, did not themselves deny the divine energy in place of that one, being content with the nature alone because of its extreme simplicity, as seems right to the Akindynists, but proclaimed two energies explicitly, just as they did also the natures. Therefore they knew that the divine energy was other than the divine nature, just as also the human energy was other than the human nature.

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6. If there is no disposition of bodily members in God, then all things said and hymned about him by Scripture as members are indicative of energies; they descend to us while the ousia remains unapproachable, as the theologians say.

7. If energy is said to proceed and spring forth eternally from the ousia, but no one would dare to say this of any creature, then energy is not a creature, and indeed neither is it the ousia itself.

8. If we say that God is completely immobile and inactive, as seems right to the heretics, and he himself moves the world only as end and object of desire, having neither providence for it nor extending power into it, and the world will be a living thing possessing choice, managing itself eternally and moved only by desire for the divine—but these things are Greek and mythical and rejected by the pious.

9. If whatever God is, these things he is also said to have—for he is life and has life, and is wisdom and has wisdom, and the rest likewise—insofar as God is these things, they are in no way distinguished from him, for they are essential and natural to God; but insofar as he has them, they are distinguished and descend to us; and these are the energies, multiplied singularly and divided indivisibly from the one ousia.

10. If the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen through the things made, being understood—both his eternal power and divinity—but through the things made we come to knowledge not of the ousia but of the energy according to the voices of the theologians, then the ousia of God is one thing and another thing is his power and divinity that are seen and understood through the things made, although this too is eternal.

11. If the principles of beings exist in God without beginning and eternally, as all the theologians say, and they are neither themselves the ousia of God—for how could they be grasped and

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comprehensible to us while that remains incomprehensible?—nor are they outside God—for all things after God are creatures, and at the same time we would give place to the Platonic ideas from these—then not only one thing is uncreated, the ousia of God, as those who suffer from Akindynos's disease loudly proclaim.

12. The Akindynist-minded say that God has the Son and the Spirit as nature, but has creation as will and energy; they think these things in order to exclude the distinction. But the distinction appears even from this very point, even if they do not understand what they say. For toward what is by nature, there is not will, and toward what is by will, there is not nature; moreover, from where did they get such expressions, that the Father himself is nature or will? For they will be forced from this to say that he himself is also generation. But the one generating and generation are said to be different things, the one willing and the will, the one speaking and the word—unless they do not hear because they are drunk. Otherwise, if they say nature as substrate and will as what is contemplated upon it, they come to the same position as us; but if both are only accounts, as seed and fruit have in relation to the same wheat, let them themselves say what the substrate is other than nature and ousia.

13. If the ousia of God is not predicated of many things—for his ousia is one—but energy is predicated of many and different things—for his energies are many—then his ousia is one thing and his energy is another.

14. If every power is spoken of in relation to something else—for it is attributed to what is possible—and this St. Thomas, the teacher of the Latins, explicitly declares², then the ousia of God is one thing and power is another, unless someone should say that ousia itself is one of the relations.

² Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa* part 1, question 25, article 1 and question 41, article 5.

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15. Even if what is said will seem paradoxical, and especially to the Akindynist heretics, nevertheless it is most true that among the natures closer to God—intellectual and rational—and in God himself, energy is more distinguished from ousia than among those more distant and those completely foreign and alien. For since all beings are defined by these three things, as the theologians teach—ousia, power, and energy (for they say that what has no power and energy neither exists nor is anything)—among inanimate and non-sentient things, the active power is as it were folded together with nature, being a certain preservative of them and providing only for their being what they are and remaining so. And even if among some things it is distinguished, as in fire the heating power, this is one-sided and irrational and devoid of will. But among irrational animals, and still more among rational ones, the work of power is already more active and more manifest; these things can and do act not only toward themselves but also toward external things, and not only the same things but also opposites, and many things simultaneously and great things, using their own bodies as instruments and making many other things through them instruments of their proper energies. And ascending in order, the intellectual natures graspable by mind alone will be found much more powerful by far than those after them; and insofar as they are near to God in the simplicity of their ousia, they are also near in the manifold and varied character of their energy; as indeed the more refined of the Latin teachers say that they fashion for themselves bodies from every matter and form according to their will, for analogous manifestations to those beholding them. But the God of all, the blessed nature, insofar as he is exalted above all these, is at once so simple and super-essential, and not only very powerful or greatly powerful, but also omnipotent, as St. Dionysius the renowned

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says³, preeminently having and transcendently possessing in himself all power, and as his power and energy reach out to all things. For he has it always following and accompanying his will, and both are contemplated in relation to the ousia. Thus the distinction of energy in no way injures the simplicity of the ousia.

16. From negations the theologians say that God, being none of the beings according to ousia, is above all beings; but from affirmations he is proclaimed as cause of all things, being all things according to causality. We must therefore inquire how this is said; for the builder among us, being the cause of a house, would never be called a house, and the physician, being the cause of health, would not be called health. But how can it be reconciled in the same thing both to be none of the beings and again to be all things? Perhaps therefore there is something between the ousia of God and beings, according to which he is named from beings as cause, and not according to the ousia itself? What else could this be except energy, which even if one should choose to call the principle or form of beings, we would not differ? Except that the craftsman among us is not named from the forms, having both the proper name of ousia and the account, while the form itself of the art comes to him from outside and is perfected; but God, being nameless according to ousia and having the forms of beings in himself by nature and from eternity preeminently and transcendently, is reasonably named both as them and from them.

17. It is worthy of wonder, the irrationality of the Akindynists, that hearing about the powers of the soul—which adhered to it after sin from the irrational life through entanglement with the passibility of the body, as our true philosophers and teachers and theologians say—hearing therefore these powers also called parts of it by some (though no one until today has heard it called composite

³ Dionysius the renowned. Compare Dionysius, *On the Divine Names* chapter 8, p. 775.

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from them, for then the souls of irrational animals and still more those of zoophytes and plants would be simpler, since they have received a share of fewer powers), yet they think that God, if he is said to have many powers, becomes composite, fighting against the very reality of things. For compositions are not of immaterial and incorporeal things, but are and are said to be of matter and form or of two natures capable of subsisting even in themselves.

18. If mind is not composite in relation to discursive thought, which is a certain passage of it toward sensible things and is itself sometimes called mind, then God much more is not composite in relation to energy, even if this should be called divinity.

19. If discursive thought is not foreign to mind—for it is its natural power through which it apprehends things demonstrated by reason—then neither is energy foreign to God, being a certain natural power of his.

20. And this doctrine of the Akindynists comes from the madness of Eunomius, just as also the reduction of the term divinity to ousia alone: that accepting the distinction by conception between ousia and energy, they think that conception is completely non-existent, subsisting merely in utterance of our word and thought. But let them hear the God-bearing St. Basil speaking to us, rebuking them and putting them to shame. For he says that we contemplate and distinguish by conception alone the natures that came together in Christ; but nonetheless each maintains its own properties. Thus also the things said about God and all the energies, even if they are said to be distinguished by conception, are not for this reason non-existent, except that there is composition in the former case, since each nature can subsist in itself with its proper properties, but here in no way.

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21. If the principles of beings existing in God before the ages do not shape the divine mind nor compose it, neither then will the energies proceeding from him render him composite⁴.

22. If our mind, having or acquiring knowledge, is not for this reason composite, then God much more is not composite from the properties naturally belonging to him.

23. And in the case of the eye, sight as form and habit is one thing, but the visual power and seeing as energy is another; and the former makes composition, but the latter in no way; for the eye is not composite in relation to energy, but in relation to the habit. But the God of all, since he has no form and habit according to which he would be composite, but both wisdom and goodness and anything of this sort are co-essential with him because of his simplicity, yet having these same things again as energies distinguished, is in no way harmed in his simplicity according to ousia from this. The theologians clearly teach these things; but the heretics, not accepting them, insofar as they speak and seem to preserve, agree with us in speaking of simplicity, but insofar as they deny the distinction, they fight against the truth and all the theologians and us, in exactly the same manner as the Jews. For those also, saying that God is one, come to the same position as us, but not accepting the distinction of hypostases, they return to destruction, taking the Akindynists along with them.

24. If whatever God is according to ousia, these things he also grants to us according to grace, they are not themselves the ousia of God; for he gives to no one a share of his ousia.

25. If whatever God is according to ousia, these things he also grants to us according to grace, then what he grants to us is not foreign to him, being contemplated essentially in relation to him according to the voices of the saints.

⁴ Compare St. Basil the Great, *Oration against Eunomius* book I, p. 705. Paris 1638, tome I.

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26. If no one among men is good except the one God, then virtue and being good are present to no one by nature unless it should come from God; and because of this the divine St. Maximus said: "Every virtue is without beginning, having nothing older than itself in time, since it has God as its sole eternal begetter of being."

27. If we eliminate the natural properties in God, through which the commonality is known, we will clearly also eliminate the hypostatic properties through which the hypostases are separated; and thus the Sabellian confusion will have place.

28. If the things said about God differ only in account, as the new sophisticated dogmatists say, how are they not non-existent? For the being of each thing consists in its proper account.

29. If the wisdom of God is called and is manifold, but his ousia is not manifold, then his ousia is one thing and his wisdom is another; and it is not the ousia from the wisdom, as St. John Chrysostom says, but the wisdom from the ousia; so also the goodness and anything of this sort. Because of this Philip also says: he did not seek to learn the wisdom nor the goodness, but the ousia itself, what God himself actually is.

Concerning the Divine Light

30. If God is not transformed nor varied according to ousia, then all theophanies are according to divine energy, variously disposing the visions.

31. If the light that appeared to the apostles on Tabor was this divinity of the Son, or rather the divinity of the Father and of the Spirit shining forth in the only-begotten Son, then this light is neither created nor the ousia of God; for that is completely invisible.

32. If God himself will be all things to the worthy according to the age to come, and light perpetually to the righteous—not

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foreign to God—then this light, which will be the inheritance of the righteous, called the kingdom of God, belongs to God.

33. If the heretics demand an account of how the immaterial was seen by fleshly eyes, let them give an account of how the hypostasis of the only-begotten being enfleshed was encompassed by the fleshly nature of the Theotokos; but if that is completely beyond account, let them grant this also; for this too was promised as supernatural. "They shall not taste death," he says, "until they see the kingdom of God come in power"⁵, showing that what will be for the worthy after death, these also while living will enjoy; for this reason they were chosen from among the rest as the best.

34. If sight is apprehensive only of shapes and colors and light itself, which are immaterial in their proper account, what is amazing if it was also once able to receive the divine immaterial light, being aided by divine power?

35. If before the transgression Adam saw the properties of the animals, through which he imposed names upon them, and before these he saw God himself, but did not see his own nakedness, then he was seeing with other eyes at that time, which having closed after sin, the eyes of the flesh were opened; but again opening them in the disciples, the Lord was transfigured before them, making them see from being blind, as St. John of Damascus says.

36. If God is light and is said to dwell in unapproachable light, then one is as essential to him and naturally inseparable, while the other is as distinguished according to energy.

37. If the soul is transformed toward what is more divine by the presence of grace, what is amazing if it also puts forth its energies through the body more divinely and capable of apprehending divine things even beyond sense?

⁵ "They shall not taste." Mark 9:1.

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38. If bodily nature acted beyond nature toward creation, being aided by divine power—I mean Peter's feet walking upon waves—why should it not also be disposed beyond nature toward the uncreated in the same way by the same power—I mean his eyes toward the divine light? For where God is, nothing is impossible.

39. If we know the contrary power to work something upon human visions, transforming and disposing them contrary to nature toward what is not—as wonder-workers and the magical tricks sung of old demonstrate—how shall we not grant to divine power the ability to alter and transform the eyes beyond nature, and these indeed toward what is, the divine light?

40. If in the light of the Spirit the proto-martyr Stephen, beholding the Son in light, thus shone in face, then by the same light he both saw the vision and shone in face, and how is this Spirit created, being the Holy Spirit, as St. Gregory of Nyssa the God-speaker says? If the light that appeared to St. Anthony was the Lord himself—for he says, "Lord, where were you before?" and he says, "Anthony, I was here"—then the light appearing to the saints is not foreign to God nor a creature. So it is also with Paul's case, except that there it was fearful because of the shock, but here pleasant because of the consolation.

41. If God himself went before the sons of Israel in a pillar of fire and cloud visible to all, then theophanies are not only for the worthy and purified, but are also granted to all simply. For it belongs to divine power to do everything, not to the disposition of the beholders, except that for some the illumination passes through to the soul and mind, just as from the soul it proceeds to the body as in the case of Moses and the proto-martyr, while for others it revolves only around the external sight, having no material like some type of matter to pass through.

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42. If just as the Lord's face shone as the sun, so also the righteous will shine as the sun in the kingdom of heaven⁶, then the righteous will shine with the same light with which the Lord shone; and this is the ray of divinity, being without beginning and uncreated, as the theologians say, and how is the light seen and participated in by the saints created?

43. If only our turning toward God were needed for being illumined, and not in addition to this also his turning toward us, we would not pray saying, "Do not turn your face away from me," and again, "Show your face and we shall be saved"⁷; by which he indicates his contemplative energy turning benevolently toward us.

44. If the visual power is not foreign to the immaterial soul—for it depends on the psychic spirit, as those skilled in these matters say—what is amazing if it was once strengthened even for immaterial things congenial to the soul by divine power, so as to announce even to it? For according to this account angels also appeared to many, and the Lord's body after the resurrection, already deified and having become incorruptible.

45. If this divine light is participated in and seen beyond nature, and is light other than the sensible, so also is the wisdom of God and the knowledge from him and the energies of the powers; and to speak simply, all the gifts come upon the worthy beyond nature and are other than the natural things in us and those that come about through effort. For indeed the whole life of those living according to God is other than natural life, being spiritual and godlike; this also Paul lived, no longer living in the flesh, but having Christ living in him, who is the fullness of the gifts.

⁶ Compare Matthew 17:2; 13:43.

⁷ Psalm 50:13; 79:4.

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Concerning the Spiritual Gifts

46. If many spirits are spoken of, but the hypostasis of the Spirit does not become many, then its hypostasis is one thing, and the gifts are another.

47. If the breath of life breathed into man by God from the beginning, from which man became a living soul, was neither itself the human soul—for it would thus be a part of the divine ousia—nor the hypostasis of the divine Spirit—for then the Holy Spirit would have been incarnate—then the hypostasis of the Spirit is one thing, and the grace breathed in is another.

48. If what was given to the apostles after the resurrection by the Lord through breathing was not itself the hypostasis of the Spirit—for the Comforter had not yet come, since the Lord had not yet gone to the Father—then the hypostasis of the Spirit is one thing, and the common grace of the Trinity given through breathing is another⁸.

49. If before the Lord's passion there was not yet Holy Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified, then the eternally existing Holy Spirit is one thing, and his grace that would be in men after the passion is another, this also being called Holy Spirit.

50. If what someone receives, this is also given by the giver, and those who receive receive not the hypostasis of the Spirit but grace, then the hypostasis of the Spirit is one thing, and the energy and grace of the Spirit given by the Son is another.

51. If God, being present everywhere, does not change from place to place, being now here, now there, then neither is the divine hypostasis of the Spirit sent nor given, nor poured out nor springs

⁸ Compare John 7:39.

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forth, but his grace is made manifest and his energy; for all these things happen sometimes and to some and for a reason.

52. If God also took from the Spirit that was upon Moses and shared it with others, and through the laying on of hands of the apostles Holy Spirit was given, and even until now from them by succession it is distributed in the Church to believers, then neither was what was given by the Lord to the apostles through bodily breathing the hypostasis of the Spirit, but the grace that filled that temple; for "from his fullness," he says, "we have all received"⁹.

53. If the faithful receive the gift of the Spirit by measure and portion, but God according to ousia is neither measured nor divided, then the impartible ousia is one thing and the grace being divided and measured is another.

54. If the Holy Spirit that came upon the Virgin was not itself incarnate, but the hypostasis of the Word, then the hypostasis of the Spirit is one thing, and the grace and energy that came upon the Virgin is another, for the sanctification of her flesh, as the theologians say, and so that she might be able to bear the saving conception; for this reason the power of the Most High was also added to the Spirit¹⁰.

55. If the power going forth from the Lord and healing all was divine Spirit—for "in the Spirit of God," he says, "I cast out demons"¹¹—but was not itself the hypostasis of the Spirit—for he would not have said about it, "I knew power going out from me"—then the hypostasis of the Spirit is one thing, and the power and grace given forth by the Son is another.

56. If from the divine Spirit being poured out upon all flesh, according to the promise, the apostles and the rest partake, then the

⁹ "For from his fullness." Romans 15:29.

¹⁰ "Power of the Most High." Luke 1:35.

¹¹ "I cast out demons." Luke 11:20. – "I knew power." Mark 5:30.

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Spirit that comes to be in them is not a creature, according to which they are called spiritual.

57. If the Spirit in Paul were created, then the mind of Christ which he had will also be created, and Christ himself speaking in him; but all these things indicate the divine grace and energy, being uncreated and eternal.

58. If to the Theotokos and to the apostles Holy Spirit and power of the Most High were promised, but the hypostasis of the Spirit did not come to the Theotokos—for it was not incarnate in her—then neither was what came upon the apostles the hypostasis of the Spirit, but grace and energy, which also filled them, appearing and being divided in the form of fiery tongues; and the Spirit is said to have come upon them essentially then, because not some part of the energy as before, but the whole energy was poured out, which is united and inseparable from the ousia and common to the three just as the ousia is.

59. If the grace of the divine Spirit, coming upon the mysteries, transforms them into the deified body and blood, how then is that which is capable of so much supernaturally a creature?

60. If the seven spirits that rested upon Christ according to prophecy were the Spirit itself of God coming upon him with its energies—for thus it is also conveyed—and these are not creatures, I mean the spiritual gifts¹².

61. If every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights¹³, then nothing of the natural things in us or those acquired through effort is perfect, much less deification, which manifestly belongs to God alone.

¹² "Seven spirits." Apocalypse 1:4.

¹³ "Perfect gift." James 1:17.

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62. If partaking of the deifying gift we become partakers of divine nature, as the divinely-inspired Peter said¹⁴, this gift would not be created, which is called divine rule and deification, and moreover divinity.

63. If we are deified through a creature, we will surely also worship a creature; but this is Greek and full of atheism.

64. If deification were some natural seed implanted, we would not need rebirth nor the other mysteries, from which divine grace comes upon those also purified in life.

¹⁴ "Partakers of divine nature." 2 Peter 1:4.

ANTI-UNIONIST WORKS

The Anti-Unionist Works of Mark Eugenikos presents, for the first time in English, the complete Anti-Unionist corpus by the famed Archbishop of Ephesus (1392–1444)—that formidable adversary of ecclesiastical union whose voice resounded through the Council of Florence. Drawn from the critical Latin edition of His Excellency Monsignor Louis Petit, Latin Archbishop of Athens, this translation reveals, with scholarly precision, the arguments by which the most unyielding opponent of reunion sought to defend the East against the See of Peter.

These orations, letters, and theological disputations—directed against the Latin doctrines of purgatory, and the filioque—form a monument not only of opposition, but of the tragic grandeur of Byzantium’s final age. Behind their fervor one perceives the noble dialectic of a mind striving, though in error, to safeguard the inheritance of his fathers. In juxtaposition, Archbishop Petit’s introductions and appendices on the essence–energy distinction display the serene clarity of Catholic theology, which alone reconciles faith and reason without rupture or rebellion.

MARK OF EPHESUS

